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A SHORT HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

OF THE

GERMAN LANGUAGE

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A SHORT HISTORICAL

GRAMMAR

OF THE

GERMAN LANGUAGE

TRANSLATED AND ADAPTED FROM PROFESSOR BEHAGHEL'S
'DEUTSCHE SPRACHE'

BY

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PREFACE

THIS little book is published in the hope that it may be of some use to those who are entering upon the study of the history of the German language. It is a translation, slightly altered and adapted for English students, of Dr. Otto Behaghel's book of the same name (*Die deutsche Sprache*), which forms one of a series of little volumes intended to popularise science and knowledge in all its departments (*Das Wissen der Gegenwart*). The author is well known as one of the most diligent researchers in the field of Old German and Teutonic philology and literature, and his book is the only one hitherto published which attempts to give in small compass and in popular form the results of recent studies in that sphere.

The most important alterations which the translator thought advisable to make consist, firstly, in the elimination of a few pages here and there, where the author addresses himself to his German readers on the subject of solecisms and purity of speech; secondly, in a slight rearrangement of the subject-matter in the chapter on the Inflexions. Additional examples, both German and English, have also been introduced where necessary.

The thanks of the translator are due to Dr. H. Hager for valuable suggestions, and for help in correcting proofs.

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A. INTRODUCTION.

I.—HISTORY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

EVERYDAY things do not as a rule claim our attention and thoughts. Nothing is more commonplace than the words which compose our speech, and the sentences which we ordinarily meet with in reading. And yet in educated circles a lively interest is taken in the phenomena of language, and linguistic matters often enough form the subject of conversation. How is this? If we always used one and the same form of expression for the same thought, then questions concerning language would doubtless leave us as indifferent as the observation that water flows down-hill and that iron rusts. But no such uniformity exists; we meet with differences at every step, according to time, place, or the person of the speaker.

It is these differences above all which excite our thinking. They are not accidental, but necessary phenomena in the life of language, which appear at all times; in their totality they form the history of language.

By the expression 'German language' is usually understood the language of the German races. Its territory coincides therefore on the whole with that of the German Empire; but it also reaches beyond the political boundaries of the latter: it embraces Switzerland, German Austria, the Germans in the Baltic provinces, German settlers in the East and West, and lastly, though in a less strict sense, the Netherlands.

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CHAPTER I.

PRE-TEUTONIC PERIOD.

Sound-shifting. Shifting of Accent.

The German races are only a fraction of a greater whole; they form a branch of the great Teutonic stock to which, among modern nations, the English and Scandinavians also belong. The separation of the Germans from the rest of the Teutonic stock was naturally followed by a separation of their language. If we find coincidences in the forms of language of, *e.g.*, Scandinavian on the one hand, and German on the other, we are justified in very many cases in concluding with certainty that those forms were the property of the Teutonic tongue before its division. Hence we are enabled, by a comparison of the different Teutonic dialects, to gain an approximate idea of the original common Teutonic mother-tongue.

The science of language can do still more. It has shown that, as the English and Scandinavians form one family of cousins with the Germans, so the Teutons possess a larger circle of relations, though more distant. To this wider family circle belong the Indians, the Iranians, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Italians (chiefly represented by the Romans), the Celts, the Slavs, and the Letts. All these in a former age formed one common people and possessed one common language with the Teutons. This primitive nation is called the Indo-European, and their language the Indo-European language.[1] Of the form of this language comparative philology has succeeded in forming a sufficiently correct idea.

[1] German philologists employed the term 'Indo-Germanic' for this language, from the two extreme members in the East (Indian) and West (English), before it was discovered that the Celts belonged to the family, and for want of a better expression have retained it. The term 'Aryan' has also been used, but this term is more properly applied to the two Asiatic branches of the family.

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Beyond this research has been unable to go; attempts have indeed been made to show that an ultimate relationship exists between the Indo-European and the Semitic language-stocks; but of this no satisfactory proofs have been found as yet. Although we are unable to penetrate beyond the Indo-European language, it does not by any means follow that that language was the original language; the Indo-European was, on the contrary, in every respect a highly developed language, and had a long period of evolution behind it. In respect of form, moreover, there is no fundamental difference between Indo-European and Teutonic; the former possessed almost the same number and the same kinds of sounds as the latter, and had even a greater abundance of grammatical forms; only in respect of the construction of the compound sentence was the Teutonic in advance of the Indo-European, although the Indo-European had already learned to subordinate one clause to another by means of a conjunction.

The following table shows the most important sounds of the Indo-European language:—

A. VOWELS—

i. *Simple:*	short	a	e	i	o	u
	long	â	ê	î	ô	û
ii. *Compound* (diphthongs)		ai	au	ei	eu	

B. CONSONANTS; these are divided into Sonorous consonants and Noise-sounds—

(1) Sonorous Consonants:

a. semi-vowels	j (y)	w
b. liquids	l	r
c. nasals	m	n

(2) Noise-sounds

i. *Simple:*

a. momentary (*Augenblickslaute*, not capable of being lengthened out, also called *Verschlusslaute* or *Explosivlaute*):

divided according to the organs of production into:

α. gutturals	k	g
β. dentals	t	d
γ. labials	p	b

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or according to the degree of effort with which they are produced into :

α. tenues (hard, voiceless) .	k	t	p
β. mediae (soft, voiced) .	g	d	b

b. enduring (*Dauerlaute*, capable of being lengthened out at will, also called *Reibelaute* or Spirants): principally represented by *s*.

ii. *Compound;* combinations of the media with *h*, called Aspirates :

gh dh bh

(pronounced somewhat as in *Wa*gh*als* or *fo*gh*orn*, *Ei*dh*elfer* or *har*dh*earted*, *lei*bh*aftig* or *ca*bh*orse*).

From this Indo-European mother-tongue the Teutonic branch detached itself at a period which cannot be accurately determined—in other words, a part of the Indo-European language suffered changes from which the other parts remained free. If we take a survey of the mass of words which are common to Teutonic, Greek, and Latin, we shall find that the vowels and sonorous sounds of the three groups coincide on the whole, but that the Noise-sounds (with the exception of *s*) of the Teutonic group invariably differ from those of Greek and Latin ; and they not only differ, but they differ methodically : each Teutonic consonant invariably corresponds to a certain other sound in Greek or Latin ; in other words, each of the sounds in Indo-European has shifted to a different sound in Teutonic. The law of this Sound-shifting process was formulated by Jacob Grimm, who called it *Das Gesetz der Lautverschiebung* (Grimm's Law). It is termed more exactly the First Sound-shifting, as a second shifting took place in a later period of Teutonic.

The Sound-shifting process may be summed up in three chief rules :

1. The tenuis in Indo-European (which may be represented by Greek and Latin) changes to a spirant in Teutonic. A distinction must now be made between voiced and voiceless spirants. The spirant, to which the I.E. tenuis shifted, was voiceless

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(hard); and the guttural spirant is represented in Teutonic by *h*. Thus,

I.E. k became T. h,			
e.g. Gk. καρδία	L. **c**or	G. **H**erz	E. **h**eart
I.E. t became T. th,			
e.g. Gk. μήτηρ	L. ma**t**er	...	E. mo**th**er [1]
I.E. p became T. f,			
e.g. Gk. πατήρ	L. **p**ater	G. **V**ater (pr. fater)	E. **f**ather

2. The second rule may be briefly stated thus: the aspirate in Indo-European changes to a media in Teutonic. The I.E. aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh* appear in Greek as χ, θ, φ, in Latin as h, f, f. Thus,

I.E. gh became T. g,			
e.g. Gk. χόρτος	L. **h**ortus	G. **G**arten	E. **g**arden
I.E. dh became T. d,			
e.g. Gk. θύρα	L. **f**ores	...	E. **d**oor
I.E. bh became T. b,			
e.g. Gk. φέρω	L. **f**ero	G. *ge*-**b**ären	E. **b**ear

This statement of the rule is not altogether accurate. Many German dialects either possess no media *g*, or possess it only in the beginning of words (in *Anlaut*); in its place they have a voiced guttural spirant (*i.e.* the soft sound corresponding to the voiceless guttural spirant *ch*). Certain dialects again—especially the Low German dialects—are deficient in a labial media (*b*) in the interior of words (in *Inlaut*), having in place of it a voiced spirant, a sound between *f* and *v*, and which may here be expressed by *b̧*. These spirants are the sounds which originally proceeded from the aspirates *gh*, *bh*. The aspirates evidently did not shift uniformly; probably all the I.E. aspirates shifted to spirants, some of which changed to mediae, whilst others have remained to this day.

[1] English having in many cases retained the Teutonic consonants more faithfully than Modern German, it will be necessary sometimes to give English instead of German examples.

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3. The media in Indo-European changes to tenuis in Teutonic. Thus,

I.E. g became T. k,
e.g. Gk. γένυς L. *gena* (cheek) G. *Kinn* ...

I.E. d became T. t,
e.g. Gk. δύο L. *duo* ... E. *two*

I.E. b became T. p,
e.g. Gk. τύρβη L. *turba* Lg. *dorp* (G. Dorf) E. *thorp*

In consequence of these shiftings a very considerable change had come over the I.E. sound-system ; the Teutonic branch no longer possessed any aspirates, whilst the number of its spirants, which were represented in Indo-European by *s* alone, increased very largely.

These three sound-shifting processes stand in no kind of connection with one another. They were not simultaneous ; it has been satisfactorily proved that the shifting of the media to the tenuis took place at a much later period than the other two. Nor were any of them either the cause or the effect of the others, that is, the media, for instance, did not, as might be supposed, change to tenuis because the aspirate had changed to media, in order to prevent the clashing of the old sounds with the new ; for a conscious endeavour of this kind to prevent the concurrence of sounds or forms would of itself be quite foreign to language.

An explanation of this remarkable phenomenon of sound-shifting has not yet been found. The view has been expressed that it was due to the Turanian family of languages, which came into contact with the Teutons ; that, for example, the media changed to tenuis, because the sounds *g*, *d*, *b* were originally foreign to Turanian. But the falseness of this theory may be easily proved.

There is an apparent exception to Grimm's Law ; in place of I.E. *k*, *t*, *p* we find in Teutonic not only *h*, *th*, *f*, but also *g*, *d*, *b*. Compare with the examples given above (Rule 1) the following :—

Gk. δείκνυμι	L. *dico*	G. *zeigen*
„ κλυτός	„ *(in)clytus*	E. *loud*
...	„ *capio*	G. *heben*

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In order to explain these apparent exceptions, we must first notice another great difference which exists between Indo-European and Teutonic. In the Teutonic languages all inflexional forms and derivations of one and the same word have the principal accent upon one and the same syllable, e.g. *Haús*, *Häúser*, *häúslich*, *Häúslichkeit*, etc., *hoúse*, *hoúses*, *hoúseless*, *hoúsewife*, *húsbandman*, etc. As a rule the first syllable carries the accent; in other words, they have a fixed accent. In the Indo-European the case was different; the accent could shift about within the same word, as in Greek, *e.g.* μήτηρ — μητρός, ἄνδρες—ἀνδρῶν; the first, second, third, or any other syllable could have the principal accent. This freedom of accentuation continued, after the separation of the Teutonic group from the main stock, to the time when the sound-shifting process had already begun, and exercised a certain influence upon the shifting of the tenuis. When the chief accent immediately preceded the tenuis (⊥ k, ⊥ t, ⊥ p), then the tenuis changed to a spirant; when the chief accent followed (_ k ⊥, _ t ⊥, _ p ⊥), then it changed to media. This law is called Verner's Law, after its discoverer, Karl Verner.

The laws of sound-shifting are of great importance in determining the relationship of Teutonic words with those of the other I.E. languages; only such words may be regarded as related in which the sounds correspond according to the laws stated above. Teutonic words, therefore, which have the same gutturals, labials, or dentals as, *e.g.*, Latin or Greek words cannot be originally related to them, thus G. *Kopf* is not related to L. *caput*, nor G. *Fuchs* to L. *fuscus*; *Kammer* is no doubt identical with L. *camera*, but it is not an originally German word, but was borrowed from Latin; so also *Dom* was borrowed from L. *domus* in the New High German period.

In Verner's Law we have the means of determining the position of the accent in I.E. words. Whenever I.E. *k*, *t*, or *p* have a media corresponding to them in Teutonic, we may conclude that the I.E. accent followed those consonants; when they correspond to a Teutonic spirant, then the accent preceded.

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CHAPTER II.

TEUTONIC AND ITS SUB-GROUPS.

THE two changes, the sound-shifting and the alteration in the I.E. principle of accentuation, determined the independence of the Teutonic tongue. The Teutonic still possessed a considerable wealth of grammatical forms; among others it had a special form of the passive voice, and answers to the questions where? whence? and wherewith? could still be given partly by special case-forms. The number of tenses had become greatly reduced in Teutonic, but on the other hand a new form of conjugation arose during the common Teutonic period, the so-called weak preterite, G. *klagte, legte;* E. *loved, thanked.* As regards the syntax, many constructions had survived in Teutonic which have since disappeared, *e.g.* causal or temporal relations could be expressed as in Latin or Greek by a participial construction consisting simply of a noun and a participle, as *faderi kumondi* = when the father was coming (comp. the Latin Abl. Absol. *Tarquinio Superbo regnante*); and 'than' after a comparison could be expressed by a simple case of the noun (comp. the Latin Abl. Compar. *Scimus solem multo majorem terrâ esse*).

The Teutonic race and with it the Teutonic tongue did not immediately split up into the large number of tribes and dialects which we meet with in a later period, but first divided into three main groups, two of which, the Gothic and the Scandinavian, standing in a somewhat closer relationship to one another, may be classed together as East Teutonic; the third group is the West Teutonic.

The Gothic nations and their related tribes made themselves famous in history in the early centuries of our era; in their youthful ardour and strength they founded kingdoms upon the soil of the Roman Empire. But their strength was not long of any avail against the superior civilisation of the Romans. Their

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Gothic had no Mus. Art.

language perished. In the Romance languages of Italy, Spain, and Portugal there is indeed a strong admixture of Teutonic words, and even their syntax shows traces of Teutonic influence; but no written monument tells us of the language in which Gelimer sang his grief; we know nothing of the tongue of the Gepidae and Bastarnae; not even the Eastern Goths have left behind them a literary trace of their existence. Of the Western Goths of the Balkan peninsula alone do we possess connected writings in their own language, which are at the same time the oldest connected writings in any Teutonic dialect. These writings mainly consist of the fragments of a Gothic translation of the Bible, the greater part of which was the work of Vulfila or Ulfilas, the first bishop of the West Goths, who lived from A.D. 311 to 381. This translation, although its language was influenced in some points by Greek and Latin Bible texts, offers a thoroughly faithful picture of the real Gothic speech. The Gothic sounds differ little from those of the original Teutonic, and may serve to a certain extent to exemplify the latter. Its grammatical forms are less numerous than those of Teutonic; in some respects indeed it is less like the original tongue than some West Teutonic dialects, which have been handed down to us in a much later shape.

Only a scattered remnant of the Goths survived in modern times, the so-called Tetraxitic Goths in the Crimea. A Dutch physician of the sixteenth century, by name Busbeck, heard their language spoken in Constantinople, and chronicled a number of their words.

The Scandinavian or Norse dialect is not known in its original shape, but may be reconstructed from the languages which are descended from it, and which comprise Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic. The manuscript sources of this language are scarcely older than the twelfth century.

The dialect of the third and for us most important branch, the West Teutonic, can, like the Scandinavian, be immediately observed only in its later developments. When and where this branch separated from the others cannot be determined; nor can we gain any definite idea of the extent and limits of this language-territory during the first centuries of our era up to the date of the earliest literary monuments. For at that time the Teutonic nations were still in constant motion; old tribes and

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their names disappear, new confederations and new names turn up in history. Not till the sixth century, after the conquest of Britain, do the Teutonic migrations cease. Of the tribes whose languages have lived on or can be investigated in their literary remains, the West Teutonic territory embraces the following:—the Langobards, Bavarians, Alemans, Burgundians, Franks, Hessians, Thuringians, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians. Thus we see that the German tongue had then a much wider sway than in later times; it extended northwards to about the Clyde in Great Britain, in the west as far as the Atlantic Ocean, in the south to the Pyrenees and across the ridges of the Alps into Northern Italy. In the east, on the other hand, the German territory was much more restricted; the river Elbe was the boundary, and to the east of it dwelt the Slavs.

If we possessed literary records dating from the fourth or fifth centuries of the nations just mentioned, we should find that their various dialects differed little from each other, and that in their sounds they were on the whole very like the language of the Goths. The principal difference between Gothic (and Scandinavian) on the one hand, and West Teutonic on the other, is in the verbal inflexion; the first group formed the second person singular of the preterite of its strong verbs with the ending *t* (herein agreeing with the other I.E. languages), whilst the West Teutonic dialects had a form ending in *i*. Compare the E.T. forms, Got. *nam—namt—nam*, *halp—halpt—halp*, Norse *gaf—gaft—gaf*, with the W.T. forms, As. *healp—hulpe—healp*, Ohg. *nam—nâmi—nam*, *gap—gâbi—gap*, Mhg. *nam—næme—nam*, *gap—gæbe—gap*.[1]

At the period, however, of which we possess West Teutonic literary records, the various dialects differed much more both from the Gothic and among themselves, and these differences continued to increase. The language which struck out its own path most independently and differed most from the others was that of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of Britain, the Anglo-Saxon or English. This difference was in the first place a

[1] In the Modern German and English languages the old forms of the second person have been replaced by newer forms ending in *st*, G. *ich nahm—du nahmst—er nahm*, E. *I gave—thou gavest—he gave*, etc. They were formed by analogy from the other tenses of the indicative and conjunctive.

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natural consequence of its isolation, and afterwards of the political history of the population of Britain. The conquest by the Normans gave to the English vocabulary a half Romance character, and the previous constant irruptions of the Danes and their temporary dominion in England had not been without an influence upon the language. The English language now falls outside the range of our consideration, as does the Frisian dialect, which is still spoken upon the islands and the coast of the North Sea, and which differs considerably from the dialects of the Continent.

There remain for our further consideration the Langobards, Bavarians, Alemans, Burgundians, Franks, Hessians, Thuringians, and the remnants of the Saxons and Angles on the Continent. The history of this, the German language-territory in its narrower sense, may be divided into three periods, an Old, Middle, and New period.

CHAPTER III.

OLD HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

THE first period closes with about the year A.D. 1100, if we may speak of beginnings and endings in the case of a continuous development. The beginning of the period cannot be definitely fixed; all that we can say is, that it coincides with the time in which accredited history may be said to begin, *i.e.* with the time of the first literary records. These earliest records are not real literary productions; they are not even in connected and continuous language. The oldest German poetry was, as is well known, usually transmitted by word of mouth, and if any of it was committed to writing it was only by a wonderful chance that remnants of it survived the hostility of the Christian priesthood to the old indigenous song, and the paganism which lived on in it. Latin was and remained for centuries the language of learning, of laws, and of public life, in spite of the efforts of Charlemagne to obtain a higher recognition for his mother-tongue; for his successors, the later German kings, did anything

800 A.D.

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but favour the German language. But although Latin was employed in writings of all kinds, much valuable material for students of the German language has been preserved even in them, especially in deeds drawn up on German soil. These deeds contain large numbers of German words, almost exclusively indeed proper names of persons and places, for the most part with Latinised endings. The disclosures which these offer to those who know how to use them rightly, although they throw light only upon the phonology of the language, or at the most upon some points of the inflexion of nouns and word-formation, are of great importance, the more so from the fact that in almost every case the exact place and time of their drawing up are known.

Next in order to these names as sources of language are the so-called Glosses, *i.e.* translations of individual words in Latin manuscripts, made for purposes of learning and teaching. These Glosses are of two kinds—Interlinear Glosses, *i.e.* written above the words of the Latin text, and Vocabularies or Glossaries, *i.e.* drawn up in columns.

The first connected German writings which we possess date from the time of Charlemagne. They comprise principally translations of ecclesiastical literature, a few religious poems, and very scanty fragments of indigenous folk-song. This literature is extremely unevenly distributed among the different German tribes. Among those which contributed nothing are the Angles (of the Continent), from whom we have only a few isolated words, the Hessians and Thuringians, the Langobards and Burgundians. The Saxons left little, the Franks of the Lower Rhine still less; the richest literature is found among the other Franks, the Bavarians, and the Alemans—that is, in the territory of the Rhine from Constance to the Moselle, and that of the Upper Danube; those parts, in other words, in which the new Christian culture had taken the earliest and firmest hold.

That the Langobards and Burgundians left no connected literary records has a particular reason. At the beginning of our period the territory upon which German was spoken became considerably restricted; the fate which the Goths experienced upon Roman soil befell also the Langobards, the Burgundians, and the Western Franks: the Romance tongue prevailed over the German, and the latter perished.

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Gus German words in modern French of Feudalism, law

On the other hand, the German element also left its mark upon the victorious Romance languages, especially upon French. Numerous words of German origin are found in the language of war—the word *guerre* itself is German, and is connected with *wirren*, 'to confuse,' cf. E. *war*—in the language of feudalism and of law. Again, the gender of a whole class of French words was determined by the German, viz. that of nouns ending in *-eur*, e.g. *la fureur, la couleur, la blancheur;* coming from Latin masculine nouns in *-orem*, we should expect them to be of the masculine gender, but they all became feminine after the model of German nouns, denoting abstract qualities.

After these encroachments of the German language-territory by the Romance element, its boundaries in the west and south were virtually fixed, and have remained almost the same to this day. The boundary line begins a little east of Gravelines, passes the French town of St. Omer, and proceeds south nearly to the Lys, and eastward to the Meuse (Maas), between Liège (Lüttich) and Maestricht; it then continues to the south-east towards Malmédy and to the south towards Longwy (both of which are French towns), again to the south-east as far as Pfalzburg and Lützelhausen and to the south towards Colmar; then striking the present boundary of the German Empire to the west of the latter town, it follows the same along the Lützel as far as Roggenburg, and taking an easterly turn to the Birs, follows the boundary of the Canton of Solothurn, passes to the west of the Bieler See, moves along the Ziehl towards Murten, through Freiburg, crosses the Rhone near Siders, skirts the Matterhorn, encircles Monte Rosa and the St. Gotthard, follows the northern boundary of Graubünden to about Tamins, and finishes in an easterly direction towards Klagenfurt.

The phonetic changes which took place in the language during the Old High German period chiefly affected the consonants; there was a second Sound-shifting, in which, as in the first, the different changes were quite independent of one another, and not simultaneous in their operation. All the changes of this second Sound-shifting may be followed almost step by step and in order through the medium of the literary records. But the second Sound-shifting differs in a most important respect from the first, in that it affected much fewer consonants.

Another difference between the two is that the second shift-

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ing affected the different dialects in very different degrees. The southern dialects felt its influence most strongly and earliest in point of time; the farther north the movement advanced, the weaker became its influence (like the concentric circles upon a piece of water), the most northern parts having been almost wholly unaffected by it. Thus it is that the second Sound-shifting is of great importance for the classification of the German dialects.

The earliest and most comprehensive shifting was that of the tenues *k*, *t*, *p*; the first of these to change was Teut. *t*, and this change was also the most widespread.

We must here distinguish between *Anlaut*, or position at the beginning of a word, on the one hand, and *Inlaut* and *Auslaut*, or position in the interior or at the end of a word, on the other. In *Anlaut t* changed to an affricate, a combination of tenuis and spirant; this sound is usually designated in the old sources by *z*, and was pronounced like the Modern German *tz*, e.g.

Got. t*aihun* Lg. t*eihn* E. t*en* — Ohg. z*ëhan* G. z*ehn*

In *Inlaut* and *Auslaut t* changed to a spirant; but whilst I.E. *t* changed in Teut. to *th*, in the second shifting *t* changed to a sound usually designated in the sources by *z*. The pronunciation of this sound may have approached that of a sharp *s*; in later times it coincided exactly with the latter, *e.g.*

Got. *it*a*n*	Os. As. *et*a*n*	E. *ea*t	— Ohg. *ë*zz*an*	G. *e*ss*en*
„ *fôt*u*s*	As. *fôt*	„ *foo*t	— „ *vuo*z	„ *Fu*ss

On the shifting of *t* to *z*, which took place about the year A.D. 600, is based the most important division of the dialects, the division into Low German and High German, the language of the north and that of the south. Low German is the territory of the preserved *t*, High German that of the shifted *t*. Low German, as will presently be seen, was hardly affected at all by the second Sound-shifting, so that Lg. words may in most cases be used as examples to show the state of the Teutonic mute consonants.[1]

Teut. *k* also shifted differently according to its position in a

[1] English was not at all affected by the second Sound-shifting; English words may therefore be used where the Low German fails.

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word; in *Inlaut* and *Auslaut* it changed to *ch* throughout the High German territory, *e.g.*

Lg. *spreken*	As. *sprecan*	E. *speak*—Ohg. *sprëchan*	G. *sprechen*
„ *ik*	„ *ic*	„ *I* — „ *ih*	„ *ich*

In the western part of the Low German territory, the Low Franconian dialects, *k* changed to *ch* in *Auslaut* only. In *Anlaut k* remained unchanged in most parts of Germany; only in Bavarian and Alemanic dialects—though not in all parts of them—it shifted to the affricate *kch*.

Teut. *p* in *Inlaut* and *Auslaut* shifted throughout High German to *f*, e.g.

Got. *slepan*	Lg. *slapen*	E. *sleep* —Ohg. *slâfan*	G. *schlafen*
...	Lg. *Schap*	E. *sheep*— ...	G. *Schaf*

In *Anlaut p* changed to the affricate *pf* in Bavarian and Alemanic, and in a portion of the Franconian, namely, the East Franconian (the Franconian of the Main territory) and part of the South Franconian. Thus the Franconian dialects became divided; the boundary between the northern *p* and the southern *pf* in the South Franconian territory is in the Grand Duchy of Baden between Bruchsal and Heidelberg. It may be here remarked that *pf* is also peculiar to dialects of Middle Germany (which will enter into our observation later), viz. in Thuringian, Upper Saxon, and Silesian.

Of the spirants the hard sounds *h* and *f* remained unchanged; but *th* changed throughout German, even in Low German, to *d*, e.g.

Got. *brôthar*	E. *brother*	—	G. *Bruder*

In the labial series the voiced spirant (*b*) changed in Bavarian and Alemanic and a portion of the other High German dialects to a momentary sound, *i.e.* to the same sound which already existed in *Anlaut*. The nature of this labial mute is of special importance for the characterisation of the dialects. In Low German dialects the difference between *b* and *p* is the same as in the English and Romance languages, *i.e.* in pronouncing *p* the vocal chords are at rest, in pronouncing *b* they vibrate. In Middle Germany this sound is pronounced without any vibration; wherefore in a large part of this territory no distinction

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is made between *b* and *p*. Farther south the distinction again appears; in Bavarian and Alemanic *p* is uttered with more force than *b*. And this state of things had already existed in the beginning of the Ohg. period. The consequence was that *b* was no longer used, as in Low German, to represent the weaker mute—for the sound did not coincide with that of the Romance *b*—but the sign *p*. There was the further difference between Bavarian and Alemanic, that the latter mostly retained the sign *b* in *Inlaut*, whilst Bavarian mostly used *p*.

The fate of the soft guttural mute consonant (*g*), in so far as it had developed out of the spirant, was similar. Here, again, Low German distinguished the sounds *g* and *k* as in the Romance languages, whilst in the dialects of Middle Germany the vocal chords no longer vibrated in pronouncing *g*, and the two sounds *g* and *k* coincided. In Bavarian and Alemanic again—but also in the southern parts of Franconian—there is a difference of force in the production of the two sounds; in the earliest periods of Bavarian-Alemanic the media is expressed sometimes by *g* and sometimes by *k*, thus indicating a middle sound between Romance *g* and *k*.

The Teut. media *d* loses its vibration in High German, and is usually designated in the sources by *t*.

We subjoin a table giving a general view of the principal changes comprised by the First and Second Sound-shiftings.

The differences as shown in the table continue throughout the whole of the later development of the German language, throughout the three periods. In accordance with these divisions of time we speak of Old, Middle, and New High German, of Old, Middle, and New Low German.

The boundary lines which divide the different dialects from one another have remained almost the same during the three periods, except that High German has made gradual inroads upon Low German territory. We shall not greatly err therefore in availing ourselves of the assistance of the modern dialects in order to classify the older dialects, the boundaries of which cannot in every case be accurately fixed.

Low German and High German are divided by a line running nearly from west to east. Beginning from the river Meuse midway between Liège and Maestricht, it follows that river down stream as far as Roermunde, and from here goes to

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Indo-European.	Teutonic.	Low German.	High German.		
			Franconian.	Upper German.	
				Alemanic.	Bavarian.
k	h	h	h	h	h
t	th	th (afterwards d)	d	d	d
p	f	f	f	f	f
gh	g (spir. or med.)	g (spir. or med.)	g (spir. or med.)	g-k	g k
dh	d	d	d	t	t
bh	b [ƀ]	b [ƀ]	b [b or ƀ]	p [b]	p
g	k	k	k [ch]	ch	ch
d	t	t	z [ʒ]	z [ʒ]	z [ʒ]
b	p	p	p or pf [f]	pf [f]	pf [f]

NOTE.—Where more than one sound are given, those within the square brackets represent the *Inlaut* and *Auslaut*, the others the *Anlaut*.

z represents the sound *ts*; ʒ a sound resembling *ss*.

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the east to Düsseldorf and Elberfeld; it then takes a northerly direction and proceeds parallel with the Rhine almost as far as the Sieg, and thence in a tolerably straight line to the north-east through Minden to the Elbe, which it meets at Magdeburg. The Low German territory thus bounded embraces the Saxons and a portion of the Franks, and the earlier forms of their dialects are called respectively Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian.

The boundary between Franconian and Upper German (*Ober-Deutsch*) is formed in the Rhine valley by the forest of Hagenau and the lower course of the Murg. From here it follows the Oosbach up stream and passes the Schwarzbach and beyond it the sources of the Enz towards the Teinach and its junction with the Nagold; reaching the Würm between Deifringen and Eutingen, and the Neckar below the mouth of the Rems, it proceeds to Ellwangen, Feuchtwangen, Wassertrüdingen, and thence in a north-east direction to the Fichtel-Gebirge.

The line of separation between the Alemanic and Bavarian almost coincides with the rivers Wörnitz and Lech; but in the upper course of the Lech the Alemanic crosses over to the right bank.

The differences between the German dialects were much smaller in the Ohg. period than they are now. If we take the Ohg. dialects as a whole and compare them with Gothic on the one hand and with the modern German *Schriftsprache* on the other, we shall find them to agree much more with the former than with the latter. From the New High German they are distinguished above all things by the outward form of the individual words; in the modern language hardly any other sound than the short dull *e* appears in the terminations of words, whilst in the old period any long or short vowel may occur. The older language was characterised by a much greater fullness of sounds and richness of euphony than the modern. Another detail in the Ohg. sound-system may be mentioned: many words which now begin with *l* had in Ohg. an *h* preceding this *l*; thus *Ludwig* was in Ohg. *Hludowig*. This *hl* was for the Romans a strange combination of sounds, and they tried to reproduce it by *chl*; thus *Chlodwig*, *Chlotar* are nothing more than the German *Ludwig*, *Lothar*.

In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the

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German language gradually changes its character: the vowels of the terminations, which had been long, begin to shorten, and those which had been short gradually weakened to *e*. This movement did not begin simultaneously in all parts, nor did it proceed everywhere with the same rapidity; in general the south is more conservative than the north. The conclusion of this change fell for the most part in the first part of the twelfth century; with it an essential feature of Old High German is removed and the Middle High and Low German period begins. An exception must be made in the case of Upper German, which disturbed the regularity of the development by retaining some full vowels in certain cases till far into the Middle period.

CHAPTER IV.

MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

THE Middle period is usually called simply the Middle High German period, from the dialects which played the most important part in the literature. The language-territory of this epoch offers a more varied and extensive picture than that of the preceding period, for several reasons.

Firstly. Territories which till then had taken little or no part in literary movements, now enter into our observation. To these belong the Low German and the northern parts of the High German regions, namely, the Franconian territory from Mayence to Cologne, and the Hessian and Thuringian provinces. The dialects of the latter, the language spoken between the Main and the Low German boundary, are from this time called Middle German, from their position midway between the Low German of the north and the Upper or High German of the south.

Secondly. The German language extended considerably beyond its original boundaries. As the Slavonic might was obliged to bend before the German sword and German colonists, so also the language gained a firm footing to the east of the Elbe: Saxony and Silesia are conquered, Bohemia is partly won

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—and there German literature found a friendly home in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,—Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia become German. At the present day, therefore, the German outposts have advanced into Slav element as far as the river Niemen. In the south-east the German language has extended its boundaries at the expense of the Magyars, and has also wedged itself into their territory in a number of language-islands.

The newly-acquired districts do not indeed form any distinct group among themselves in respect of their language. The northern parts were colonised partly by Low and partly by High Germans; the language of the latter had a Middle German character. Thus Saxony and Silesia join themselves to Middle Germany, as does also the Land of the Teutonic Order (*Deutschordensland*) during this period. The Mark Brandenburg, on the other hand, and the coast districts were colonised by Low Germans.

During the Mhg. period the language gained ground not only outside, but also within the country. Before this period many kinds of written documents were only in Latin; with the exception of works of translation, German prose had been able to subsist only in the very earliest times. In the Mhg. period a change took place; from the middle of the thirteenth century German homiletic literature received a great impetus, especially in the hands of the Mystics. The language of jurisprudence also begins to put on a German garb; the most renowned of German law books, the *Sachsenspiegel*, was written about 1230, and at the close of the same century deeds begin to be drawn up in German. These legal documents cannot indeed be classed among works of literature; but real literary prose works are not altogether wanting. Prose is used with success in historical writing and in learned disquisitions, if the philosophic and theosophic treatises of the Mystics may be so called. But on the whole, Latin still remained the language of scholarship.

This wider cultivation and more extended use of German at this time was not the result of a conscious or unconscious national striving, but was rather the consequence of the decay of monastic learning and of the new strength which the citizen element was acquiring. It had a considerable influence on the development of the language; for, as the unwonted exercise of

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a limb makes it to grow, so also a language increases in strength and suppleness in proportion to the greater and higher uses to which it is put.

The boundary line between the Middle German and the Low German dialects did not remain the same during the Mhg. period, as Low German frequently lost ground to Middle German, especially in the tract of land between the Harz mountains and the river Saale. About the year 1300 the line of separation still ran south of Duderstadt, Walkenried, and Eisleben, meeting the Saale above Merseburg, but about 1500 it ran and still runs somewhat more northerly, and touches upon the Saale below the discharge of the Bode; so that the whole of the Mansfeld district and especially Halle has changed its dialect.

The character of Middle German makes it a link between Low German and Upper or High German. The consonants did not share all the changes of the second or High German *Lautverschiebung*; the vowels are on the whole the same as those of Upper German. In a number of cases we find Low German long vowels corresponding to diphthongs in High German, *e.g.*

Lg. stên, wêt, twê	=	Mhg.	stein, weiz, zwei
„ bôm, ôk, stôf	=	„	boum, ouch, stoup
„ brêf, fêl, hêt	=	„	brief, fiel, hiez
„ gôd, hôn, drôg	=	„	guot, huon, truoc

In all these cases—with a few exceptions in the border districts—Middle German has the same sounds as Upper German. Only in the later course of this period do we observe a tendency to simplify certain diphthongs; *ie* and *uo* begin to change to *î* and *û*, thus *brief*, *huon*, which the Upper German still pronounced almost as two syllables, are in Middle German territory pronounced more and more with a long vowel, *brîf*, *hûn*.

In Upper German territory not only the Ohg. diphthongs are preserved, but a fresh movement begins which still more increases their number. From the twelfth century the long vowels *î*, *û*, *iû* (*iu*) develop in Bavarian into the diphthongs *ei*, *au*, *eu*. Nhg. *Zeit*, *Haus*, were in Ohg. *zît*, *hûs*; the later pronunciation is first found in Bavario-Austrian sources.

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The following lines, written by a schoolmaster of Bamberg about 1300, are intended to characterise some of the dialects during the Mhg. period :—

Swaben ir wörter spaltent
die Franken ein teil sie valtent (*falten*)
die Beire sie zezerrent
die Düringe (*Thüringer*) sie uf sperrent
die Sachsen sie bezuckent
die Reinleite (*Rheinleute*) sie verdruckent
die Weterreiber (*Wetterauer*) sie würgent
die Misenaere (*Meissner*) sie vol schürgent (*stossen*).

The lines are somewhat obscure for us, as they characterise the living sounds of the language, of which the written characters offer only a poor substitute. The meagre alphabet, as it has been handed down to us, by no means suffices for the great number of possible sounds, or even for those actually in use; one and the same sign is used at different times and in different places for very different sounds. Hence the written monuments of different territories generally show a greater agreement than really existed.

This apparent agreement has led to the conclusion that there existed during that period a *Schriftsprache*, which stood over and above the different dialects (somewhat like the Nhg. *Schriftsprache*) as the language of literature and fashion and as the means of communication between the different chanceries. It has been even held that there were three *Schriftsprachen*, a Middle High German, the Court language proper, a Middle German and a Low German *Schriftsprache*. But a Middle German or Low German *Schriftsprache* is out of the question, and the existence of a Middle High German one has been greatly disputed. The poets of different parts of the country, the Swiss Ulrich von Zazichoven, the Alsatian Gotfrid von Strassburg, the Swabian Hartmann von Aue, and Wolfram von Eschenbach the Frank, show enough dialectical differences to warrant one in rejecting the supposition of a common recognised language, although many circumstances contributed to make such a language possible.

However this may be, it is certainly not to be denied that many circumstances concurred to make a literary language

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possible, that dialects came into contact and blended with one another, that occasionally a writer tried to use a language which was not his own, and that the language of some districts obtained a certain supremacy over others. The more the different parts of Germany took part in the cultivation of poetry, and the more literary intercourse increased, the more frequent became the copying of manuscripts, and the oftener did it occur that the dialect of the copyists differed from that of the original author. The consequence was that the new copies contained a mixture of different dialects; these new copies were perhaps again copied in a different part of the country, and thus the mixture became still greater. Not only the poems, however, but also the poets themselves went upon their wanderings. Of Wolfram von Eschenbach we know that he resided some time in Thuringia, and so we find peculiarities in his language which were foreign to his Upper Franconian home. The German poetry of the Middle Ages reached its prime upon High German soil; the political supremacy and the literary centres, which necessarily attracted the rising talent, lay upon High German territory: so we meet with several poets, who had their home in Low Germany, but endeavoured to speak High or Middle German. We have seen how this superior strength of High German caused the Low German boundary to retreat before it (p. 20). When occasionally on Low German territory the language of deeds rose above the dialect, it took a Middle German character. At various times particular dialects were favoured, and became fashionable for a short period; thus in the thirteenth century it was a sign of good breeding in Upper Germany to '*flaemen*,' i.e. to introduce fragments of Low German into one's speech. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, a Court poet, uses the Low German form *bluomekîn* instead of *blüemlîn*, and Meier Helmbrecht, the proud peasant's son in the story of that name, addresses his sister as *vil liebe susterkindekîn* (*suster*, Lg. and L. Franc. for *Schwester*). In Austria, on the other hand, it was fashionable about the middle of the fourteenth century to use the Swabian idiom.

16th Century – early modern period – Luther's translation of the Bible, assisted by Erasmus and Melanchthon.

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CHAPTER V.

NEW HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

1. *Extent of the Language.*

THE changes in the boundaries of the German language during the third period, though not inconsiderable, are not so great as those of the preceding period. The German language-territory suffered a considerable loss in French Flanders; in the seventeenth century the Flemish language extended beyond Boulogne, in the beginning of the eighteenth century the limit lay outside the gates of Calais, now, as we have seen, it passes to the east of Gravelines. In Alsace and Lorraine the language lost ground; but the war of 1870 has prevented the further spread of French in that direction. In the south the German language is gradually yielding to Romance and Italian; the language-islands of the *Sette Communi* and the *Tredici Communi* upon Italian soil have almost died out. On Czech territory the German colonies have succumbed to superior might; here, moreover, the struggle against the German tongue is now raging with most violence. In the east the language has been constantly gaining ground during the last two centuries on the Poles; and for the last twenty years it has been advancing slowly but surely into Schleswig in the north. The Wend language-island in Lusatia is on the point of becoming extinct.

At the beginning of our period the use of German suffered a remarkable restriction within the country itself. In the preceding period it was beginning to be used as the language of learning and scholarship; but in the new period a reaction took place. At no period of German history was the popular mind in such a ferment as in the sixteenth century, no age produced such masterpieces of popular rhetoric and popular satire, and during this century the church hymn and folk-song reached their highest point of excellence; but it was at the same time during this century that Latin authorship became a new power, and that Latin even became to some extent the language of poetry. The Humanists and their successors debated and disputed in Latin;

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their correspondence was in Latin; they wrote Latin verses; and the comedies of Terence were brought to life again in the schools. It became the custom among scholars to turn their own names into Latin or Greek. In this manner a great deal of force, which might have been of the utmost importance for the development of the German language, was expended in a wrong direction. Only in the seventeenth century was the almost unlimited dominion of the Latin language resisted; this time by a conscious patriotic striving to raise the mother-tongue to honour, whilst in the Middle period the spread of German prose had been more unconscious and natural. The first German of the seventeenth century, Leibnitz, stood upon the boundary line between the old and the new epoch; his own principal works were written in Latin, but in theoretic treatises, written in German, he pleaded for the dignity and the cultivation of his native tongue. These treatises, appearing posthumously, could not exercise the influence due to the personality of their author; but younger contemporaries of Leibnitz took decisive steps. In the winter of 1687-88 Christian Thomasius first held a course of lectures in German at the University of Leipzig, and in 1688 published the first German literary periodical. Christian Wolff made German the language of philosophy; philosophy was followed by grammar, literary and political history, and by the first half of the eighteenth century the change was complete. Since that time Latin has lost very much of its prestige; larger works were written in it only if intended for circulation beyond the boundaries of the country. Now the language only drags on an old-fashioned existence in academic treatises and dissertations, dealing with classical scholarship.

like Bacon & Newton or Petrarch

2. *Schriftsprache and Dialects.*

The most important difference between the Middle High German and the New High German languages is that the latter has a uniform *Schriftsprache*.[1] The German language now runs in two streams: the dialects, flowing along in their natural traditionary bed, branching out into numberless little channels;

[1] *Schriftsprache* or *Hochdeutsch* is the language (spoken or written) of the educated as distinguished from the dialects. For the pronunciation there is no established authority except the rule: 'Speak as you write, and write as you speak.'

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and the *Schriftsprache* moving in an artificial bed, provided with sluices and filters to get rid of the mud and rubble. This distinction between natural and artificial is very important; the natural development is to be found in the dialects, whilst the literary language is a preparation which no more exists in nature than distilled water.

A view still prevails among educated people that the dialects are a corruption of the *Schriftsprache.* Nothing can be more erroneous. They differ greatly in the rapidity of their development. The literary language proceeds on its way slowly, and is hemmed in its course, not purposely, but yet artificially. Dialect is transmitted from one generation to another by easily-changing and quickly-dying human speech, and the learning child is influenced by the manner of speech of two or three generations at the most. Quite different is it in the case of the *Schriftsprache;* the learner is governed by the strict written or printed letter that ever and again incites to imitation. Not only their parents and relations are the teachers of youth, but frequently a language which dates back several centuries.

The dialects of New High German generally develop in the direction of losing the inflexions which have been handed down to them in such abundance. But different dialects have undergone different changes, and their number is legion (in the Swiss Canton of Berne no fewer than thirteen dialects may be distinguished); a well-practised ear may with tolerable certainty determine the home of a German by his accent. The cadence and modulation of the voice alone differ in different dialects; the Thuringians, the Saxons, and the German-Russians, for instance, are recognisable by their singing speech, and the North German raises and sinks his voice less than the Southerner. Again, the North German as a rule speaks more rapidly than the South German.

In respect of the individual sounds, too, the dialects differ considerably among themselves, as we have seen above (p. 14). The consonants are on the whole the same as they were in the Ohg. and Mhg. periods; but the vowels, especially the long vowels and diphthongs, have suffered many changes, *e.g.* Mhg. *ei* has various pronunciations in different High German dialects, *ëi* (*e* forming the first part of the diphthong), *ai* (thus pronounced among the High German speaking population of the North), *āi*, *ā*, *oi*, *ôi*, and *oa*.

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Less numerous, but more thorough, less rapid in their alternations than the differences in sounds (which often change from village to village), are the differences in inflexional formations, in derivation and compounding, and in syntax. The Low and Middle Germans form diminutives in *-ken*, *-chen*, as *Händeken*, *Händchen*, the Upper German in *-li*, *-le*, as *Händli*, *Händle*; the Low Germans alone form words of endearment in *-ing*, as *Vatting* (*Vater*), *Mutting* (*Mutter*), *Lining* (*Karoline*), *Mining* (*Wilhelmine*); the Aleman forms them in *-i*, as *Aetti* (*Vater*), *Büebi* (*Büblein* from *Bube*), *Ruodi* (*Rudolf*). In many Upper German dialects verbs compounded with *zer-* are wanting; instead of *zerbrechen*, *zerschlagen*, *zerreissen*, etc., they say *verbreche*, *verreisse*, etc., and the Bavarians form verbs in *der-* instead of *er-*, as *derschlagen* for *erschlagen* (this *der* has perhaps developed out of *er*, cf. *minder*, earlier *minner*). The Alemanic dialects (with the exclusion of the Swabian), and a portion of the Franconian, make no difference between the nominative and the accusative cases, except in the personal pronouns; the nominative is used for both, as in *ich hab der Vatter net gsehe* (*ich habe den Vater nicht gesehen*). In Low German, on the other hand, the ending *-er* of the nominative case is wanting in adjectives, the accusative ending *-en* being used in its place, as in *hei is en gauden Mann, en wohren Heid* (*er ist ein guter Mann, ein wahrer Heide*). The accusative forms of the personal pronoun of the third person *hen*, *sie*, have disappeared for the most part in Low German dialects, and have been superseded by the dative forms (*h*)*em*, *ehr*.

In the conjugation of verbs the Upper German dialects have quite given up the imperfect or preterite tense, its function having been usurped by the perfect formed with *sein* or *haben*. The Low Germans show a greater preference for the auxiliary *haben* in forming the perfect tense than the High Germans; they say, for example, *dat hett slicht gahn* (*das ist schlecht gegangen*), and even *dat hett gaud west* (*das ist gut gewesen*).

In syntax we may note a few differences. In Low German the accusative has in many cases taken the place of the dative after prepositions, e.g. *dat was in dat* (*das*) *Johr* 1829 (*das war in dem Jahre* 1829), *ut dit* (*dies*) *Holt* (*aus diesem Holz*), *an de* (*die*) *Bost* (*an der Brust*). The Alemanic dialect has lost the relative pronoun, and uses in its place the adverb *wo*, as *'s Hus, wo abbrennt isch* (*das Haus, welches abgebrannt ist*). In the *oratio*

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obliqua the Low and Middle German dialects use the preterite conjunctive, as *mer secht, er wär gstorwe* (*man sagt, er wäre gestorben*); the Alemanic and Bavarian dialects, on the other hand, prefer the present tense, as *mer seit, er sig* (*sei*) *gstorbe.* For the sentence '*hieraus war nicht viel zu entnehmen,*' the Low German would say, altering the position of the preposition or prefix, *hir was nich vel ut tau nemen.*

The differences in the vocabulary are very marked, and offer a great variety; almost every district possesses words which are not understood even at a distance of a few miles. Other words, again, are common to large territories, *e.g.* Ug. *losen* (*hören*), *lupfen* (*emporheben*), Lg. *kiken* (*sehen*), *trecken* (*ziehen*). Again, words, though occurring in different dialects, possess different meanings. In Alemanic *lehren* means both 'teach' and 'learn,' whilst in South Franconian both meanings are combined in *lernen.* In Low German *all* is used in the sense of *schon*, and *schön* is applied not only to visible objects, but also to the taste and smell, as *schön schmecken, riechen* (*gut schmecken, riechen*). Peculiar to Upper German is the use of *Schmutz* for *Fett*, and *schmecken* for *riechen;* and noteworthy is the displacement which has taken place in the meaning of verbs denoting motion in the Upper German dialects. In some of the dialects the verb *gehen*, used absolutely, has the meaning *fortgehen*, whilst 'go' is expressed by *laufen; laufen*, 'run,' is expressed by *springen*, and *springen*, 'leap,' is expressed by a number of other verbs.

3. *Unity in the written use of the Language.*

The origin and history of the New High German *Schriftsprache* has, like that of the dialects, not yet been sufficiently investigated; but we may give an outline sketch of its development.

Luther is usually called the 'Creator of the New High German *Schriftsprache*,' and hence the New High German period is made to date from the time of the appearance of Luther's earliest works—the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But the statement is inexact; for, in the first place, Luther did not spontaneously create the language in which he appeared as a Reformer; and secondly, even after his appearance the language was still far from having attained a real and generally recognised unity.

To find the roots of the Nhg. language we must go back to the preceding period. A dialect, in order to triumph over other

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related dialects, must be supported by some kind of recognised authority; its influence must make itself felt for a sufficient length of time, and it will find a readier acceptance the more it agrees in its sound-system with the other dialects. An authority of the required kind was held by the Imperial Chancery when German began to supersede Latin in deeds and acts, in the second half of the fourteenth century. It is to be remarked, as an important fact, that for nearly a hundred years from that time the Empire was held, with but a short interval, by one house, the house of Luxemburg. Their Chancery was in Prague, the capital of Bohemia; in this country the Middle German joined the Upper German territory, and two dialects, the Upper Saxon and the Austrian, came in contact. The language of the Chancery at Prague was the result of the blending of these two elements; and this type of language remained the language of the Imperial Chancery when the Empire passed over to the house of Habsburg. This curious combination was adopted by other chanceries, and so we find that from Friedrich III. (1440-93), and still more so from Maximilian (1493-1519), deeds and documents signed by the emperors, in whatever part of Germany they may have been drawn up, are all written in the same language.

The proceeding of one of the most important of the chanceries, that of the Saxon Electorate, was of great consequence for the *Schriftsprache*. The territory over which it governed was Middle German, and so the language of the Chancery was Middle German until the middle of the fifteenth century; in the second half of the century this language approached that of the Imperial Chancery, partly by arbitrarily adopting High German characteristics, partly in consequence of a natural development of certain Middle German sounds in the direction of Upper German, which development the legal language followed more rapidly and completely under the influence of the Imperial Chancery than it would otherwise have done. Thus the languages of the two most important chanceries met and almost formed one language.

This was the first step towards the formation of a *Schriftsprache*, but only the first; the language was still far from having obtained general recognition. This is seen in the fact that the same princes, whose chanceries had become models for other chanceries, still used their home dialects in their private correspondence.

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Moreover, the language of the Chancery was only in a limited degree adapted to form the foundation for a national literary language; for the ideas to which this language usually gave expression belonged to a comparatively narrow sphere, and the words used by preference were of a formal and traditional character. Its influence, therefore, was confined to sounds and inflexions; other conditions were necessary to adapt the language for general acceptance.

From Luther came the decisive impulse. The authority exercised upon the language by official acts and documents was comparatively small, for only a very small minority of the people read them; but Luther's mighty form shook the German people to their foundations. He touched upon questions which seized the heart of man, of whatever rank or condition. His writings, from their wide circulation, could not but greatly affect the form of the language,—the more so as the contents of them, especially his translation of the Bible and his Church hymns, were of a nature to pass word for word into the memory of his readers. The language he chose was a guarantee of its wide influence, for he decided for the language which already had a certain general authority: 'I employ,' he says, 'the common German language, in order that both High and Low Germans may understand me. I speak according to the Saxon Chancery, which is followed by all the princes and kings in Germany. The Emperor Maximilian and the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, have thus united the German languages of the Roman Empire into one definite language.'

How rapidly Luther's language spread we are unable to estimate exactly; its progress was not so quick as one might suppose from his being called the 'Creator of the New High German *Schriftsprache*.' It was stoutly resisted in many quarters. His language was the bearer of Protestant ideas; hence its introduction into Catholic countries was made difficult from the very outset (Gottsched's *Sprachlehre*, published about the middle of the eighteenth century, was a forbidden book for Catholic superiors). Even in Protestant countries its progress was slow; German *Particularismus*, which aimed at the independent existence of small states, struggled also for local separation of languages. As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century Thomas Platter, in Protestant Bâle, wrote his autobiography in

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the Alemanic dialect, and in 1671 the Government of Canton Berne issued an order to the clergy to refrain from 'an uncommon new German' which 'only vexes men of understanding and does not instruct the common people in their Christianity.' In Low German countries Luther's language made way rather more rapidly. But even in Low Germany attempts to raise the popular dialect to the rank of a literary language have not ceased; newspapers and calendars still appear in great number written in Low German. Moreover, intentional opposition was not the only difficulty which the language had to contend with; some writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *e.g.* the letters of the Duchess Elizabeth of Saxony to her brother the Landgraf Philip of Hesse, contain a remarkable mixture of literary German and dialect, showing that the spirit was willing but the flesh weak.

Thus it came about that in the sixteenth century, in spite of the zealous endeavours of the grammarians and the appearance of eminent writers, a unity of language hardly existed; in the seventeenth a kind of unity existed in the minds of authors, but their deviations from one another and uncertainties in the use of the language are still very considerable. Only in the first half of the eighteenth century does the unity become real and decided. The poet Haller (1708-77) stands on the threshold of the old and new time; in the early editions of his poems we see distinct traces of the Alemanic dialect; 'for,' he says himself, 'I am a Swiss, the German language is strange to me, and the choice of words was almost unknown to me.' In the third edition the poet eliminated these dialectical peculiarities to a great extent.

An absolute and complete unity of language does not indeed exist at the present day, and will perhaps never be reached. Provincialisms still prosper, especially on the border lands. The nationality of a Swiss or Austrian writer can in most cases be detected in his writings. A few of these provincialisms may be mentioned: thus, a very common Swiss expression is *rufen* (c. dat.), in the sense of *hervorrufen*, *verlangen*, e.g. '*der Antrag rief einer längeren Discussion*,' '*man hatte schon lange einer Verbesserung dieser Strasse gerufen*.' Others are *jeweilen* for *bisweilen*, *bemühend* for *peinlich*, *beitragen* with *an* and the dative instead of the simple dative. The Austrian's shibboleth is the expres-

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sion *vergessen auf*, e.g. '*auf die Erweiterung des Wahlrechtes hatte er vergessen*,' *über* for *gemäss*, e.g. '*über Beschluss*,' '*über Antrag*,' and the word *Gepflogenheit*, which has, however, spread to other parts. North German writers are not free from provincialisms, such as *überall* for *überhaupt*, e.g. '*es wäre die Pflicht des Herausgebers gewesen, wenn er den Aufsatz überall acceptierte*,' and *erinnern* for *sich erinnern*, e.g. '*von der Melodie erinnere ich nur einen Theil*.' It is to be presumed that, now that a city situated upon Low German soil has become the political centre of Germany, and is gradually taking the lead also in literature and art, Low German provincialisms will in course of time appear in the literary language in greater number.

More numerous than local provincialisms are those disparities and uncertainties in speech which may be found in one and the same locality and even in the same individual. A gradual disappearance of the former would be conceivable, though not probable, but a complete disappearance of the latter kind would be quite impossible, from reasons which lie in the nature of language itself. At no moment is the development of language at a standstill; new forms and combinations of words, and even quite new words, are continually coming into being. Hence there is a never-ending struggle between the old and the new, and this gives rise to a certain hesitation in the use of language, to corruptions and degenerations, neologisms and barbarisms, etc.

These deviations are less common in the accidence than in the syntax. Examples are *der Friede* or *Frieden*, *des Bauers* or *des Bauern*, *die Lumpe* or *die Lumpen*; *er kommt* or *er kömmt*, *er schwor* or *er schwur*, *er fragte* or *er frug*. One sometimes hears, though incorrectly, *die Bröte* for *die Brote*, *die Spornen* for *die Sporen*, *handgehabt* for *gehandhabt*. In the syntax we find uncertainties, such as *trotz des Regens* and *trotz dem Regen*, *während des Tages* and *während dem Tage*, *der Gehalt* and *das Gehalt*, *ich habe gestanden* and *ich bin gestanden*. Some people write *ich anerkenne* for *ich erkenne an*, *der mich betroffene Unfall* for *der Unfall, der mich betroffen hat*, and speak of a *reitende Artillerie-Kaserne* and a *ländliche Arbeiterfrage*, meaning barracks for mounted artillery and the question concerning agricultural labourers.

A very common kind of syntactical error is caused by two expressions of like meaning arising simultaneously in the mind at the moment of writing or speaking; the result is a combina-

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tion of parts of each expression into a new one. In this manner may be explained the frequently heard expression *sich befindlich*, the product of a mixture of *befindlich* and *sich befindend*. In the Low German of Fritz Reuter we often meet with the phrase, '*wat gelt mi dat an?*' Here a confusion has arisen between *was gilt mir das?* and *was geht mich das an?* Again, in Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, Claudia, mentioning the wrath of Emilia's father on hearing that the Prince had looked upon his daughter, uses the expression, '*nicht ohne Missfallen*,' meaning *nicht ohne Wohlgefallen* or *nicht mit Missfallen*. It may even happen that two synonymous words become united into one; thus the *Knecht Ruprecht* or *Nicolaus* (Niklas) appears in Fritz Reuter as *Ruklas*.

4. *Unity in the spoken Language.*

The unity we have spoken of exists properly speaking only on paper, in the literary language; unity in the spoken language is only in its very first beginnings. But without doubt it will increase more and more, and the dialects are doomed to perish in course of time. This may be regrettable, but the purpose of language is to facilitate communication; and at present the Westphalian peasant and the Swiss herdsman are able to understand one another as little as a Frenchman and a Chinaman.

The schools are especially active in promoting unity of speech; there both the ear and the eye are forcibly directed to the *Schriftsprache*. The pulpit too exercises a certain influence in this direction, though in a smaller degree; in some districts where the power of dialect is still unbroken—for instance, in the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland—the Gospel was till a few years ago largely preached in dialect. The stage has still less influence among the country people, only a small minority of whom ever enter a theatre. But literature is of the greatest importance, as the passion for reading is gradually descending to the lower strata of the people, especially the reading of newspapers and cheap pedlars' books.

The relations between *Schriftsprache* and dialect as spoken are of very different kinds. The majority of the people speak in dialect only. A portion of these are able to understand *Hochdeutsch* when they hear it spoken; but a great number are only accessible through their own dialect. The number of those who speak or understand the *Schriftsprache* alone is small; they

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are found principally in parts where there is no German-speaking mass of people, as in the Russian Baltic Sea provinces. A large number are able to use both dialect and *Schriftsprache*, but in varying degrees; few are able to speak both in their purity, in most cases there arises a mixture in which now the dialect, now the *Schriftsprache*, preponderates. The proportion of mixture also varies under different circumstances; the more solemn the occasion, the more choice will be the language.

Pure *Hochdeutsch* is heard much more frequently upon Low German territory than in the other parts; nowhere is dialect so widespread through the different grades of society as in Swabia and Bavaria, in Austria and Switzerland. In certain towns of Switzerland, *e.g.*, the transactions of judicial boards are carried on in dialect. But even in these countries different degrees are observed; thus in Bâle and Berne more dialect is spoken than in Eastern Switzerland. The causes of these local differences may lie in the character of the people; they may depend upon the different degrees of importance attached to outward formulas, upon the degree of exclusiveness observed towards neighbouring nationalities, or upon the degree in which old traditions are observed or in which new customs are adopted. But the principal reason why the North German speaks *Hochdeutsch* with greater purity than other Germans is to be found in the greater difference between this language and the Low German dialects, compared with that between *Hochdeutsch* and the Middle and South German dialects. A person who understands *Hochdeutsch* is therefore less able to understand the Low German than the Middle and South German dialects, and the North German is under a greater necessity to speak the literary language in order to make himself understood. Besides, it is easier to learn to use purely and correctly a language which differs sharply and distinctly from one's own than one of which the differences are more gradual and not so striking.

5. *Disadvantages of Unity.*

The unity in orthography and speech which we have considered was the result of a conscious striving, of an inner necessity. But this development of a unity has not been altogether without its disadvantages to the language. As long as the authority of dialects was little disputed, an author might introduce into his writings any object or idea which his com-

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patriots had provided with a name; every neologism of speech could at once find admittance into the written language. This was changed when one language gained the upper hand; more extended circles had then to be considered; only those words could reckon upon being understood which were generally recognised in the literary language. It was in certain classes of words that the freedom of choice was thus prejudiced. The more abstract, the less transparent the meaning of a word, the more did the different dialects agree in using it; the more 'sensuous' the meaning, the greater the deviation of the several dialects, and the greater the difficulty of securing the general acceptance of an expression.

This difficulty was increased by another circumstance. The classes of words which appear least frequently in the literature are just those which differ most in the different dialects. Words denoting common objects of everyday life are naturally least likely to find their way into a literary language common to all educated people, especially in a super-ideal literature as we find it in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany. Hence there are many classes of objects for which generally-recognised names are wanting in the *Schriftsprache*, such as names of plants and animals, of kinds of food, of tools and implements, and of many occupations of daily life. Similarly, expressions of ordinary feelings, of anger and vexation, exclamations of pain and joy, terms of abuse and flattery, are locally represented by different words. Another class of words for which the literary language wants generally-recognised names is the class of words which express shades of sounds and movements, onomatopoetic words, in the formation of which the living language of the people still shows itself creative. They obtain no official recognition, because the *Schriftsprache* rejects with disdain the terms of the people.

Thus the progressive development of a literary language has been followed by a not inconsiderable impoverishment in the material of language capable of being used for literary purposes. The reaction was not wanting: the creation of dialectic literature. The latter is not merely a poetic diversion, nor is it likely to perish easily.

6. *Characteristics of New High German.*

We must keep in mind that what we are accustomed to call New High German does not represent a whole that has been at

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all times alike. Not only do different periods of New High German show different stages of unity, but the language has proceeded step by step in its development; the language of Luther is no longer that of the writers of the classical period, and that of the classic writers is no longer that of the present day. But the character of the language as a whole has remained essentially the same, namely, a blending of different dialects, in which Middle German forms the principal foundation. The vowel system is essentially Middle German, the consonantal system is Austro-Bavarian. In the form and composition of words the differences in the dialects which shared in the formation of New High German are only small; the genders of nouns are those of Middle German, not of High German, *e.g.* Mg. *die Backe, die Butter, die Traube* are Ug. *der Backen, der Butter, der Trauben.*

The differences are greatest in the vocabulary. The main stock of the New High German vocabulary is Middle German. The purely Upper German element is quite inconsiderable; as a rule, only those expressions have migrated from the south into the language which denote things belonging to the south, especially names for everything connected with the Highlands, e.g. *Alp, Fluh, Gletscher* (from Fr. *glacier*), *Lawine* (Mlat. *labina* from *labi*, 'glide'), *Matte, Senn.* Other words of Swiss origin are *lugen* and *staunen.* The Low German constituents are numerous; to these belong especially words connected with navigation and maritime life, e.g. *Brise, Bucht, Düne, Hafen, lichten* (= *leicht machen*, 'lighten or weigh anchor'), *Steven, Tau, Wrack*, etc., also other expressions like *echt*, older *êhaft* = that which is related to *ê*, Nhg. *Ehe*, 'law' (change of *ft* to *cht* is peculiar to Low German), *Fracht, Harke, kneipen, knicken, Schlucht* (Ug. *Schluft*, related to *schlüpfen*), etc. In some cases both the High German and the Low German forms exist side by side, e.g. *Brunnen* and *Born, feist* and *fett, sanft* and *sachte, sühnen* and *versöhnen, Waffen* and *Wappen*, the first-named being in each case the High German and the second-named the Low German form.

The phonetic differences between New High German and Middle German will be considered later. The most important may be here noticed: the Mhg. long vowels *î, û, iu* (= *ü̂*) have become diphthongs in Nhg., *e.g.* Mhg. *zît, wît, hûs, mûs, hiute, liute* are Nhg. *Zeit, weit, Haus, Maus, heute, Leute.*

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INTRODUCTION.

II.—PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE.

We have seen in the last chapter that numerous differences exist within the German language; the language differs not only in time and place, but also in the different circles in which the speakers move. We have now to enter more minutely into the nature and causes of these differences.

The nature of changes in language has been illustrated by comparing words with stones carried along by the stream; as stones through the constant friction are worn away and lose their original shape, so also words by frequent use are constantly undergoing change. But the comparison is altogether wrong; a word is not an object, which, having been once called into existence, possesses an uninterrupted continuity, but it is an activity, a process. The process consists in this, that a process which goes on in the mind is accompanied by a sound-producing movement of the organs of speech—in other words, a connection takes place between a picture of the imagination and a sound-image. This connection is not at all times and in all places the same, because its factors are not in every case the same. The number of ideas in the mind depends upon the number of impressions which press upon a man and those with whom he has intercourse. The narrower the circle in which a man moves, and the lower his grade of culture, the more limited will be his world of ideas; the workman in the factory, the peasant in the fields, can satisfy

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their needs of speech with a few hundred words, whilst the man of culture, the poet, can dispose of a wealth of some thousands. And the more out of the common a man's occupation is, the more uncommon will be the stock of words at his disposal. Hence German, like every other language, comprises within itself a number of technical terms, of technical languages ; the merchant and the fisherman, the miner and the bee-keeper, the seaman and the sportsman, each has his own peculiar language, and the novice who would penetrate into the mysteries of his profession must acquire a new language to correspond with the new ideas which he gains. Moreover, the mass of existing ideas is different at different epochs ; thus the decline of chivalry and feudalism, the extinction of old forms of law, and the giving up of the study of astrology, necessarily caused numbers of words to perish.

But the fate of a word is determined not only by the existence or non-existence of an object corresponding with it, but also by the greater or smaller intensity of the impression which it creates upon the mind, which in its turn depends upon the degree of interest which it calls forth, or upon its power for good or harm ; thus, the larger animals and trees, those which nourished or clothed man, or which threatened his existence, received names much earlier than the insignificant insects and the flowers of the wood. Hence it is that the names of the larger animals, of the large forest trees, and of the most important kinds of grain, are common to all the Teutonic races, and that some names like *Wolf*, 'wolf;' *Kuh*, 'cow;' *Ochs*, 'ox;' *Birke*, 'birch;' *Buche*, 'beech;' *Erle*, 'alder;' *Gerste*, 'barley, cf. *grist*, agree with the words in the other Indo-European languages ; the names of flowers and insects, on the other hand, frequently differ in every dialect, so that the zoologist and botanist of the present day cannot dispense with the Latin appellations. As an example, the common oxlip (*primula elatior*) has about sixty, and the meadow saffron (*colchicum autumnale*) about fifty different names in German.

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The stock of ideas changes, as we see, in different individuals or groups of individuals. The number of possibilities is greater when there is a choice of sound-images, when one and the same individual may use now one, now another, sound-image or word to express the same idea.

CHAPTER I.

THE EXISTING MATERIAL OF LANGUAGE SUFFICES, BUT UNDERGOES FORMAL CHANGES.

1. Phonetic Changes.

The first possibility is that language possesses the materials to express ideas, and satisfies the wants of the speaker. The latter expresses his ideas with exactly the same words or sound-groups in which they found their expression before him, or at least tries to do so; for the exact reproduction of a word depends on different conditions.

The most important condition is that it should have been correctly heard. A new word is most correctly caught when each part of it is slowly and distinctly pronounced, as in the teaching of young children.

The second condition is that the word be correctly reproduced. But all imitation is imperfect; so it is in speech. A word may have been correctly and carefully conceived in the mind, and yet its reproduction may differ from the original. In order to imitate the sounds it has heard, the child sets its organs of speech in motion; at first without knowing by what means it attains its purpose. Hence its attempts are at first very imperfect; but it repeatedly compares its reproduction of the sounds with the sounds in its mind, sets other muscles in motion, and thus by degrees improves its pronunciation. The exactness of the reproduction depends upon the acuteness of the comparison made by the ear. But the ear is a very unreliable organ; two sounds may appear to it identical, which differ considerably in

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the manner of their production. Again, one and the same effect may be due to different causes; the learner may produce a sound by other movements of the organs of speech than those made by the teacher. This substitution of one movement for another, in order to produce the same effect, is often enough a necessity, as the organs of speech are not always constructed alike in different individuals. Thus it comes about that language, in being transmitted from father to son, and from generation to generation, undergoes phonetic changes.

The first differences may be very minute; the pronunciation of each generation may deviate in a very slight degree from that of the preceding one. But in the course of several generations the change may be considerable. These changes may be of a two-fold kind; firstly, qualitative—*i.e.* different parts of the organs of speech are used, different muscles are set in motion, as when a labial sound is substituted for a dental; thus *Inbiss* becomes *Imbiss*. Secondly, quantitative—*i.e.* the same kind of movement is produced with more or less expenditure of force; thus it requires a smaller degree of force to pronounce *Pferd* and *Pfund* as the Westphalians do—*Ferd* and *Fund*—than to pronounce them correctly. Cases in which the energy expended in reproducing a sound is greater are comparatively rare; convenience and the *vis inertiæ* play an important part in the evolution of language, less perhaps as the cause of change than in determining the direction of change.

The language changes just described are usually called phonetic (*lautgesetzlich*, *i.e.* in accordance with the laws of sound or phonology); for the causes which prevent the exact reproduction of a sound are always the same, in whatever word the sound may appear. In other words, a sound changes in the same direction in all cases, and these cases may be embraced by one rule or law. A law of this kind is that Mhg. *î* changes in Nhg. to *ei*, as Mhg. *gîge*, Nhg. *Geige;* Mhg. *hîrât*, Nhg. *Heirath;* Mhg. *mîden*, Nhg. *meiden;* Mhg. *nît*, Nhg. *Neid;* Mhg. *Zît*, Nhg. *Zeit.*

This uniformity of development applies in the first place only to the individual. In a greater number of persons the conditions which affect the development of language may be very different; the acuteness of hearing may be greater in some persons than in others, and the organs of speech may not be con-

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structed exactly alike. Differences of pronunciation exist even in the smallest circles, as when a person lisps and produces a *th* instead of an *s;* but from this it follows, at the same time, that not one pronunciation alone influences the learner, but many; hence the speech of the individual will be as it were an average of the speech of the different persons with whom he associates. This is the case with each member of the younger generation; if these members belong to a restricted circle, the persons whose speech serves as a model are the same for all, and the different averages drawn from the small deviations of the elder generation can in their turn differ only in a slight degree among themselves.

When the intercourse between two persons or groups of persons becomes less frequent or ceases altogether, their language must necessarily deviate in its development; one sound must change in this direction, another in that direction; in other words, dialectical differences must arise, and more or less distinct dialects will form themselves. The more complete the cessation of intercourse or relations between two or more groups, the greater will be the deviations, in the same way as greater intervals of time also cause greater changes.

2. Changes by Analogy (Folk-etymology; Formulas).

Phonetic change is not the only kind of change which takes place in language; if it were, then the history of a language would be extremely simple; it would be an easy thing to fix the laws of sound, and we should be able, by their aid, to translate mechanically Goethe's verses into the language of the Nibelungenlied, or to turn Otfrid's poetry into the language of Vulfila.

But other kinds of change are continually taking place; the simplest of these changes consists in the dropping of part of a word, as when we say *bus* for *omnibus*, *cab* for *cabriolet*, *Ben* for *Benjamin*, or part of a sentence, as *are you off?* for *are you going off? er muss fort* for *er muss fort gehen.* This the grammarians call Ellipsis.

The possibility of using these imperfect sound-images becomes conceivable when we consider the mental process which accompanies the hearing and understanding of a word. If we sound

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a string of one of two musical instruments which happen to be in the same room, then the strings of the second instrument, having the same pitch or standing in certain harmonic relations with the one touched, will vibrate. The same process occurs in speaking. It is a mistake to suppose that in ordinary conversation we hear every word spoken in its full extent; we hear only parts of a word or sentence, but the sound of these parts causes the complete sound-images which are present in the memory to vibrate, so that we are hardly conscious of the fragmentariness of what we really hear. This explains the fact that we less easily comprehend and more frequently misunderstand spoken than written words, especially in the case of a foreign language, and that we sometimes turn over words or sounds in our consciousness for a time before understanding them, *i.e.* before a sound-image vibrates and we find the correct complement.

Again, the hearing of a sound-image may cause words already present in the mind to vibrate, which are not identical with the words spoken, but whose stems contain the same elements. Let us suppose a child to have had impressed upon its memory by frequent repetition the word *Stein* and the idea conveyed by it; then let us suppose it to hear the word *Steine*, without being taught the meaning of it; the word will cause the sound-image *Stein* to vibrate, and it will recognise the material signification of the word, though it does not know its formal relationship with the first. The same psychical process takes place on hearing the words *steinigen*, *aussteinen*, *Versteinerung*, *Steinwurf*, *Grenzstein*. In other words, words having the same sound-groups combine by an unconscious attraction to form groups of ideas; the feeling arises that in order to express an idea in some way related to another the word should contain a certain sum of sounds in common with it.

Complete identity of sounds is not even necessary to call up sound-images; similarity of sounds suffices to connect words etymologically related into groups; thus not only *nehmen*, *genehm*, *Vernehmung* are felt to be connected, but also *nimmt*, *nahm*, *genommen*. It is clear that groups of this kind must do much to preserve in the memory the material of words, and thus be of great importance for the faithful transmission of the stock of language which we have inherited.

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But on the other hand, when not only the same but similar sound-images are combined into groups, they may act in opposition to purely phonetic changes. In the group *nehm-*, *nimm-*, *nahm-*, *nomm-*, which stem is the real bearer of the idea expressed by the group? In Luther's time the verb *kriechen* was conjugated in the present tense as follows:—

ich kreuche	wir kriechen
du kreuchst	ihr kriechet
er kreucht	sie kriechen

Does *kreuch-* or *kriech-* represent the idea of the verb? Linguistic sense offers no means of deciding the question. Memory only tells us that *nehm-*, *nimm-* is used in the present, *nahm-*, *nomm-* in the past tense, and that formerly *kreuch-* was used in the singular and *kriech-* in the plural; if memory refuses its aid, language no longer has any motive for saying *ich kreuche* in the one case, and *wir kriechen* in the other; it would have been quite justified in saying *ich krieche* and *wir kreuchen*. We may say that *ich kreuche* changed to *ich krieche* after the model or analogy of *kriechen*. Another example: for *er fährt*, *schlägt*, *trägt* many dialects have *er fahrt*, *schlagt*, *tragt*; the earlier forms with *ä* are changed after the analogy of *ich fahre*, *schlage*, *trage*, *wir fahren*, etc. In formations of this kind it is often not easy to determine which of two forms or expressions was the original and which was formed by analogy. The number of formations by analogy in words and sentences is very great, and hardly less than purely phonetic developments.

The first result of new formations by analogy is the creation of double forms; *ich krieche* was used for a time side by side with *ich kreuche*, in the same way as double forms like *gelehrt* and *gelahrt*, *gesendet* and *gesandt*, *gewendet* and *gewandt* still exist. But this double existence is seldom of long duration; two different words for the same idea are an unnecessary luxury, and in course of time one of the forms perishes; thus *ich krieche* is now used alone. In general, the form which has the firmest hold upon the memory, that is, the form which is the more frequently used, supersedes the other; in this case, the stem *kreuch-* occurred only in the three persons of the singular of the present indicative, and in the singular of the imperative, whilst *kriech-* occurred in the plural of the present indicative and im-

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perative, in the whole of the present conjunctive, the infinitive, and present participle. When two forms are represented by equal numbers, then chance decides in favour of one or the other; and it may frequently happen that a form which prevails in one group of persons will succumb in another group which is separated by distance from the first. Thus, the preterite of *finden* was conjugated in Middle High German:

ich fand,	wir funden,
etc.	etc.

In New High German the vowel of the plural *u* succumbed to that of the singular:

ich fand	wir fanden;

but in Low German the *u* of the plural prevailed:

ik funn	wi funnen.

Thus we see that analogy may contribute to the formation of different dialects.

Again, it may happen that in some dialects the differences are removed by analogy, but not in others; thus, Middle and New High German have *ich fahre—er fährt*, *ich trage—er trägt*, etc., but in Middle Dutch and many modern German dialects the vowel of the second and third persons singular has been exchanged for that of the first person, *ich fahre—er fahrt*, etc.

As to the reasons why different forms have been assimilated in some cases and not in others, no general rule can be laid down; only so much may be asserted: the more the original phonetic differences coincide with differences of function, the more easily will they escape being removed. The forms *ich nehme—wir nehmen* on the one hand, and *ich nahm—wir nahmen* on the other, represent very important differences of functions, those of present and past time, and have consequently not been assimilated in any German dialect. But when forms representing different functions are characterised by two signs, one of them may be discarded as superfluous; thus, in Mhg. *ich hoere—ich hôrte*, the past tense was distinguished from the present both by the ending *-te* and by the so-called *Rück-umlaut;* the ending *-te* being sufficient to mark the difference of function, the vowels were equalised, Nhg. *ich höre—ich hörte.*

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The difference of function between two related words may become so great that they are no longer felt to be related; *schon* and *fast* were originally the adverbial forms of the adjectives *schön*, *fest*, and similar differences of vowels in the adjective and adverb were not infrequent in Middle High German (see p. 80). The difference of vowel was preserved in *schon* and *fast* in consequence of these words having become isolated by their meanings, 'already' and 'almost,' from their adjectives, *schön*, 'beautiful,' and *fest*, 'firm.' Again, the adjective *rauh* was inflected in Middle High German *rûch—rûhes*, cf. *hoch—hohes;* in New High German the *h* of the *Inlaut* has gone over into the *Auslaut;* the old form with *ch* is preserved in compound words, as *Rauchwerk*, *Rauchwaaren*, 'rough wares, furs,' in which the connection with the adjective *rauh* is no longer thought of. Other examples of similar isolated forms will be mentioned later.

If we compare the operations of analogy with the changes which take place after definite phonetic laws we shall see that the two processes stand in a kind of opposition to one another. Phonetic changes make identical sound-images dissimilar; but analogy strives to make uniform what phonetic laws made unlike. Thus, *hören* was inflected as follows:—

Ohg.	hôriu	hôrte
Mhg.	hoere	hôrte
Nhg.	höre	hörte.

Ohg. *hôriu* became Mhg. *hoere*, under the influence of the phonetic law, according to which the vowel *i* changes the preceding vowel (*Umlaut*, see p. 79), and Mhg. *hôrte* became Nhg. *hörte* through analogy.

Not only does the hearing of a word or sound-image call up in the mind other sound-images which are related to it, but it may also call up sound-images which are not related either by meaning or etymology, if they sufficiently resemble each other in sound. A word or part of a word may stand isolated, unconnected with any existing words or sound-groups; such related sound-groups may never have existed, as in the case of foreign words, or they may have disappeared from use. The word or part of a word then frequently attaches itself to some other word or sound-group; thus, *wahnwitzig* (after which was formed *Wahnsinn*), Mhg. *wânwitzec*, was originally compounded

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with the adjective *wan* = 'empty, wanting in,' which also appears in E. *wanton*, *wanhope;* this adjective disappeared from use and lost its power of forming other compounds, and the syllable *wan-* then attached itself to the word most nearly resembling it in sound, the substantive *Wahn.*

Again, a word or part of a word may be connected with a second word or group, but through phonetic change has come to resemble more closely a third group with which it is unconnected, and to which it attaches itself; thus, *Eiland* was originally compounded with *ein* = 'solitary' (as in *Einöde*), Mhg. *einlant*, 'the solitary land;' this changed phonetically to *eilant*, as Mhg. *einlif* changed to *eilif*, *eilf*, 'eleven,' and then became associated with *Ei*, *Eiland* being in the popular mind the 'egg-shaped land.' Similarly, *echt* comes from Mhg. *ê-haft*, a compound of *ê* = 'law,' Mhg. *Ehe;* it is now usually associated with *achten*, and frequently spelled *ächt.*

It may even happen that a word or part of a word will attach itself to another word or group with which it is unconnected, although it resembles that group less than it resembles its own group; thus, the *Galgenthor* in Frankfort changed to *Gallusthor*, after the gallows from which it took its name had ceased to exist.

This peculiar process of association, by which words unconnected by etymology or meaning form themselves into groups, similar to the groups of words etymologically related to each other, is called Folk-etymology or popular etymology. These groups are of importance for the grasping and retaining of strange or foreign words; they associate themselves in the minds of the hearers with some known group of words; thus in the mouth of the people the words *unguentum Neapolitanum* have become *umgwendter Napoleon*, and *Hermaphroditebrig* is turned by the sailor into *Maufahrteibrig*, the first part being probably suggested by *Kauffahrtei.* Compare the English words *cray-fish* and *causeway* from French *écrevisse* and *chaussée.*

In many cases of folk-etymology no attempt is made to connect the newly-formed word with the thing or idea itself; thus between the name *umgwendter Napoleon* and the substance so named no connection whatever seems to be implied, nor does the form *Abendtheuer*, as the word *Abenteuer* was spelled in the last century, seem intended to convey any connection between an

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adventure and 'evening' or 'dear.' Frequently, however, a word thus transformed by folk-etymology is explained by some little incident unrecorded by history; thus the name *Sauerland*, originally *Süderland* = *Südland*, the southernmost part of old Saxony, is explained by the exclamation '*das war mir ein sauer Land*,' supposed to have been uttered by Charlemagne after the conquest of that country, and *Achalm* is derived from the interjectional phrase '*Ach Almächtiger*.' Compare the popular derivation of the English *sirloin*. This naïve kind of interpretation is called Myth-forming Folk-etymology.

In some cases the connection between the idea conveyed by the popular word and the thing seems natural enough, e.g. *Sündflut* is popularly interpreted as the 'sin-flood,' whilst it really comes from Ohg. Mhg. *sin-vluot*, the 'great or universal inundation;' *Fuge*, 'fugue,' is generally and not inappropriately associated with *Fügung*, 'joining,' whilst it comes from It. *fuga;* and *Mysterien*, the name given to the mediæval religious plays, from Lat. *ministerium*, not unnaturally suggests the 'mysteries' of divine worship. These cases are, however, comparatively rare; as a rule the connection is not very clear, and sometimes the popular word conveys ideas which are not in accordance with facts. The word *Armbrust*, 'cross-bow,' from Lat. *arcubalista*, suggests a connection, which is anything but clear, between the weapon and certain parts of the body; few islands justify by their oval shape the appellation *Eiland;* the word *Blutigel*, an incorrect form of *Blutegel*, 'blood-leech,' conveys a wrong impression as to the appearance of that creature, by classing it with the hedgehog or urchin tribe; and most people, on hearing the word *Maulwurf*, 'mole,' would naturally suppose that little animal to turn up the earth with its nose, whilst as a fact it uses its feet for that purpose; *Maulwurf* is Mhg. *moltwerfe*, 'earth or mould-thrower,' English dialectical *mole-warp*, *mold-warp* or *moudiewarp*.

In all these cases, in spite of the erroneous notions suggested by the popularised forms, the words are still used with their original meaning; it may happen, however, that not the form of a word is transformed, but that its meaning is changed, by connecting it with some other group. Thus, *das gelobte Land* meant originally the 'promised land,' from *geloben*, but it is now popularly understood as the 'praised land,' as if from *loben;*

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Sucht generally denotes nothing more than a 'reprehensible longing for, or striving after,' and is connected with the verb *suchen*, whilst it originally meant a 'sickness,' and is connected with *siech* = *sick;* its original meaning is still evident in some of its compounds, e.g. *Gelbsucht*, 'yellow sickness, jaundice;' *Tobsucht*, 'insanity;' *Schwindsucht*, 'consumption,' etc.

There is a third kind of association. Two words may differ sharply and distinctly from one another, but important parts of them may be identical in sound (e.g. *house, home*); they become associated in the mind, and as a consequence their meanings partly cover each other, *i.e.* they resemble each other or form parts of a whole. As a further consequence these words become connected together to form a whole, so that the language possesses a number of stereotyped phrases of two or more members, which are kept together by agreement of certain sounds.

The agreement of sound may be:

(*a*) Initial; thus we have Alliteration (G. *Anreim*). These alliterative formulas are very frequent in German, and not uncommon in English; they may express:

1. Synonymous ideas, e.g. *Geld und Gut, Haus und Heim* (E. *house and home*), *Leib und Leben, Lust und Liebe, Ruhe und Rast, Schimpf und Schande, Thür und Thor, Wind und Wetter, gäng und gebe, ganz und gar, los und ledig, singen und sagen.*

2. Contrasts, e.g. *durch Dick und Dünn* (E. *through thick and thin*), *Lust und Leid, Himmel und Hölle, Wohl und Weh* (E. *weal and woe*), *auf und ab, aus und ein* (cf. Sc. *but and ben*), *samt und sonders.*

3. Parts of a whole, e.g. *Haus und Hof, mit Haut und Haar, Küche und Keller, Land und Leute, mit Mann und Maus, Ross und Reiter.*

4. Expressions syntactically connected, and proverbs, e.g. *bitterböse, himmelhoch, lichterlohe, rosenroth, der wilde Wald, seine sieben Sachen; wenn die Maus satt ist, ist das Mehl bitter; wie der Hirt, so die Herde; Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern.*

(From these alliterative phrases proceeded the metrical system which is found in the oldest kind of Teutonic poetry, *e.g.* the Hildebrandslied and the old Anglo-Saxon poetry.)

(*b*) In the root-vowel and the following consonant; thus we have Rhyme (G. *Reim* or *Endreim*). They may be arranged under the same categories:

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1. *Lug und Trug, Saft und Kraft, Saus und Braus, auf Schritt und Tritt, toll und voll.*

2. *Freud und Leid, mit Rath und That, zu Schutz und Trutz, Zeit und Ewigkeit, haut oder naut* (Hessian = 'either—or').

3. *Dach und Fach, Handel und Wandel, die Hülle und die Fülle, mit Sack und Pack, Sang und Klang.*

4. *Borgen macht Sorgen* (E. *he that goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing*); *Wahl macht Qual; heute roth, morgen tot; der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt* (E. *man proposes, God disposes*).

Sometimes alliteration and rhyme are found combined in one phrase, e.g. *Glück und Glas, wie bald bricht das; Hoffen und Harren macht Manchen zum Narren.*

There is yet another and quite different kind of association or group-forming. In a group of words connected by one fundamental idea, e.g. *Steine, steinigen, steinern, versteinern*, etc., the feeling has arisen that certain sound-groups are the bearers of the meaning; in this case *stein* is the most essential sound-group of the words named.

The observation of the coincidence of sounds in two or more derivations from one stem is accompanied by the observation of their differences. Thus in the words *Stein, Steine, steinigen, steinern*, we observe that they coincide in having the sound-group *stein*, and differ in having the additional endings *-e, -igen, -ern*, or in having no ending; on comparing them we may easily conclude that the syllable *-e* is of importance for expressing the idea of plurality, the syllable *-igen* for expressing that of 'throwing,' and the syllable *-ern* for expressing the idea 'made of.' Now if a person who has made these observations on *Stein, Steine*, etc., hears the form *Kreuze*, or *Fische, Tage, Tische*, etc., by an unconscious mental proportion sum:

Steine	:	Stein	: :	Kreuze	:	Kreuz

he will conclude that *Kreuze* is the plural of *Kreuz*, and further that the addition of the sound *-e* serves to express plurality. From similar sums of proportion, *e.g.*

Stein	:	steinern	: :	Holz	:	hölzern
höre	:	hörte	: :	sage	:	sagte,

he will conclude that the syllable *-ern* is essential to express the

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idea 'made of,' and the addition of *t* to the stem of a verb is essential to express the idea of past time.

It is clear that these groups of words are of the greatest significance for the transmission of speech, for every individual act of speaking. But it is neither necessary nor possible to remember in every case whether, *e.g.*, one has heard the plural form of a word before and how it was formed; a few proportions retained in the memory suffice to serve as models. Thus the forming of a nominal or verbal inflexion is to a certain extent the seeking of the fourth term of a proportion.

But this kind of group-forming also opposes the purely phonetic development of words. Just as from *Stein—Steine*, *Kreuz—Kreuze*, etc., we infer that the termination *-e* is a means of designating plurality, so also we infer from *Blatt—Blätter*, *Haus—Häuser*, *Lamm—Lämmer*, etc., and from *Graf—Grafen*, *Bär—Bären*, *Herr—Herren*, etc., that the endings *-er* and *-en* are used for the same purpose. The forms *sage—sagte*, *klage—klagte*, etc., yielded *t* as the sign of past time, whilst *grabe—grub*, *trage—trug*, *schlage—schlug*, etc., show that the same object is attained by a change in the root-vowel. Thus in most cases there is more than one means of rendering grammatical and logical relations. Now, if it is remembered that for one word one means and for another word another means was employed, it depends upon chance which of these two means is employed in the individual case; we may say that as a rule that means is preferred which by reason of its frequency has taken a greater hold of the mind. Thus, to form the past tense of *frage*, there are two models to go by, *sage—sagte*, etc., or *trage—trug*; in forming it after the first model, *frage—fragte*, the old German inflexion is adhered to, and in forming it after the second, *frage—frug*, we create a neologism, and the phonetic development is opposed. The number of similar neologisms is very great; the more common modes of inflexion are continually taking the place of the less common ones, thereby imparting to language an ever-increasing degree of uniformity. These analogies may of course take different directions in different circles, and so contribute to the formation of dialects.

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CHAPTER II.

THE INHERITED MATERIAL OF LANGUAGE IS INSUFFICIENT.

1. Causes of the Insufficiency.

The second possibility is that the speaker is conscious of an insufficiency of material of language to express his ideas, or he is not willing to use it. The consequence is the same in both cases: the speaker finds himself obliged to look about for different material. He may take old material and employ it in a new sense, or he may create new words. The reasons of his seeking new material may be of very different nature; one reason is of course the want of a word in the speaker's consciousness to express an idea; this is the cause of the abundance of new words formed by young children, which they can dispense with as they grow older. A second reason is that words of rare occurrence are easily forgotten, as are also words with few etymological connections. Much depends upon the degree of attention and the time which are devoted to recalling words formerly heard. The uneducated or half-educated show a disinclination for mental exertion, and a preference for stereotyped phrases, proverbial expressions, and for expressing many ideas by one and the same word; thus the word *machen* enters into many idiomatic phrases, e.g. *das Bett machen; den grossen Herren machen*, 'play the fine gentleman;' *er macht sich auf den Weg, aus dem Staube*, 'he sets off, takes himself off;' *er macht es mir zu lange*, 'he bores me;' *das macht nichts*, 'that is of no consequence;' *machen Sie*, 'be quick;' *was machen Sie?* 'how are you?'; and in the language of the people is still more extensively used, cf. *Geld machen*, 'make money;' *Holz machen*, 'cleave wood;' *einen König machen*, 'play;' *einen machen*, 'scold somebody;' *er macht* (cf. Fr. *fait-il, fit-il*), 'he says;' *es macht*, 'it is raining;' *voran machen*, 'hasten;' *lang machen*, 'be long about a thing;' *in etwas machen*, 'trade in something;' *in die Stadt machen*, 'go into the town.'

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Even the memory of a man of education is not always equally reliable; he will form fewer neologisms in writing than in speaking, and fewer in addressing a large audience than in every-day conversation.

A third reason for seeking new material of language is the avoidance of Homonyms. The first object of speech is clearness; in order to attain this it is necessary that every other meaning but that intended by the speaker be excluded, in other words, that ambiguity be avoided. In Middle High German there were three homonyms with the form *wern*, which meant (*a*) 'endure,' Nhg. *währen*, (*b*) 'ward off, prevent,' Nhg. usually *abwehren*, *verwehren*; the simple verb *wehren* is rare and archaic, (*c*) 'pay, give,' Nhg. *gewähren*. Ambiguity was more effectually guarded against by the use of the compound verbs in two of the significations instead of the simple verb.[1] Homonyms are, however, not uncommon; as words are not usually used separately but in conjunction with others, the connection of the sentence is in general sufficient to exclude misunderstandings.

This clearness may be advanced by the formation of compound words—that is, by the addition to the sound-group which formerly bore the meaning of another sound-group which more clearly determines or delimits its meaning. It continually happens that compound words are used side by side with the simple words, and then supersede the latter. Thus the Mhg. words *dürfen*, *gern*, *wegen*, *barmen*, *bleichen*, *hitzen*, *dihen*, *hören*, *niezen* have been superseded in the modern language by the compound forms *bedürfen*, *begehren*, *bewegen*, *erbarmen*, *erbleichen*, *erhitzen*, *gedeihen*, *gehören*, *geniessen* with exactly the same meanings as the former; side by side with the older forms *laden*, *lösen*, *Gesandter* are now used the compound forms *einladen*, *loslösen*, *Abgesandter*, and beside *mindern* and *vermindern* the longer form *herabmindern* is making way. It may even happen that two words which are synonymous or partially synonymous may be joined together, as soon as the word which formerly bore the meaning threatens to become less intelligible; thus the words

[1] The avoidance of homonyms has been the cause of the disappearance of many words, and the consequent formation of neologisms, in the Romance languages, more especially in French, in which different Latin words, through the loss of their terminations, came to coincide; cf. A. Darmesteter, *La Vie des Mots* (Paris, 1887), p. 162.

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Maulesel, 'mule,' *Elenthier*, 'elk,' are compounds of *Maul*, Mhg. *mûl* and *Elen* respectively, which formerly had the same meaning; *Windhund*, 'greyhound,' is a compound of Mhg. *wint*, which meant the same thing; in *Lintwurm*, 'dragon,' the first component *lint* originally meant the same thing as the second, *i.e.* 'serpent.'

Of two expressions of like meaning the more clear and intelligible is always the one which is etymologically more transparent—that is, beside which other words of the same root and fundamental meaning are in existence; thus the Mhg. word *mâc* has perished and the more intelligible *Verwandter* has stepped into its place, Mhg. *maere* has been replaced by *berühmt*, Mhg. *magezoge* by *Erzieher*, and *minne*, *minnen* have yielded before *Liebe*, *lieben*, which had a strong support in the adjective *lieb*. Similarly the adverb *sehr* is in ordinary conversation usually replaced by stronger expressions, like *fürchterlich*, *schrecklich*, *entsetzlich*, etc.

The metaphorical expression or Trope is clearer and more intelligible than the proper expression; the metaphor draws attention to the particular feature of an object which forms the point of comparison between the two members of the trope. This figure is especially used in poetry, which is the home of metaphor; it replaces purely abstract expressions by material images, *e.g.*

> vom Eise befreit sind Strom und Bäche
> durch des Frühlings holden, belebenden *Blick*;
> im Thale *grünet* Hoffnungsglück;
> der *alte* Winter, in seiner *Schwäche*,
> *zog* sich in rauhe Berge *zurück* . . .,

and abstract possibility by a more impressive reality; thus *unzählbare Schaaren* become in poetry *ungezählte Schaaren*, *ein unsiegbarer Held* becomes *unbesiegt*.

Metaphor is, however, by no means confined to poetry; the process is continually repeating itself in the historical development of language, by which a proper expression is superseded by a figurative expression, which in its turn becomes a proper expression, and again calls forth a metaphor. This is most commonly observed in everyday language. Thus the older expression *Haupt*, L. *caput*, E. *head*, has been replaced by

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the word *Kopf* which in Mhg. denoted a 'drinking-vessel,' from Mlat. *cuppa*, 'cup;' and in vulgar language more figurative expressions are preferred to the latter, such as *Kübel*, 'bucket,' etc.[1]

Lastly, an expression is more forcible and its meaning is more easily grasped, the fewer the elements of which it consists; a single word is more intelligible than a combination of several, or a whole sentence. This will explain the large number of compound words which are continually being formed in the language of poetry, e.g. *Traubengestade* (Klopstock), *feuchtverklärtes Blau* (Goethe), *Berggetreue im Tannenharnisch* (Scheffel).

It has been observed that the first object of language is clearness; but the necessity may arise of using words, the sense of which is not clear to everybody; with this object the criminal classes of the different nationalities have created a language or *argot* for themselves. The German thieves' *argot* consists for the most part of words borrowed from the Jewish or Gipsy languages; but some German words are also used in a sense differing from the ordinary, e.g. *blätteln*, 'play cards,' *Plattfuss* for 'goose.'

The language of politeness, like politeness itself, has for its object to 'facilitate as much as possible social contact between men,' to make personal intercourse agreeable and easy. Its aim is to say pleasant things, to express one's esteem of others either by exalting their personality or by humbling one's own, the utterance of good wishes, the pleasures of meeting and the hopes of seeing one another again, etc. Now it is not altogether at the option of the speaker what phrases to use in order to give expression to his feelings, whether genuine or not, but certain formulas have been fixed by custom to be used according to circumstances or according to the rank of the person spoken to. This applies more especially to the mode of address; in order to alter the natural proportions of the speaker and the person addressed, or in order to increase symbolically the distance between them—the expression of distance being a sign of reverence—the plural number *Ihr*, 'you,' is used instead of the

[1] Similarly in French the older word *chef*, L. *caput*, has been replaced by the word *tête*, L. *testa*, orig. = 'an earthen vase, a potsherd;' this again having become too abstract is often replaced in popular parlance by *boule*.

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singular; thereby the speaker heightens the importance of the second person, by intimating that he is addressing more than one. Another mode of expressing distance is by addressing a person as *Euer Gnaden*, *Euer Hoheit*, cf. E. '*your honour*.' In the last century the polite mode of address was the third person singular, *Er*, *Sie*; it still survives in parts of Germany, but only in addressing inferiors. This use of the third person is more recent than that of the second person plural, *ir*, which was already used in the Middle Ages. The latest stage of development consists in the use of both the third person and the plural, e.g. *Sie haben* for *du hast*; *wie befehlen der Herr Oberst?* for *Oberst, was befiehlst du?* In this use of the third person plural German stands alone. This person, *Sie haben*, is sometimes even used, though incorrectly, for *er hat*, *sie hat*, in speaking of a person present.

Poetical language is the home of chosen and uncommon expressions; not only in the vocabulary, but also in inflexions and syntax, does the language of poetry differ from that of prose. The line of separation between the two is indeed not absolute, but certain expressions are used more exclusively in prose, certain others in poetry. Thus in prose one would say *du lebst*, *er lebt*, whilst poetry has the choice between *lebst* and *lebest*, *lebt* and *lebet*. Prose prefers the forms *hob*, *schwor*, *gerücht*, *webte*, *wurde*, but in poetry *hub*, *schwur*, *gerochen*, *wob*, *ward* are more usual. The plurals of *Land*, *Band*, *Denkmal* are in prose *Länder*, *Bänder*, *Denkmäler*, whilst poetry chooses *Lande*, *Bande*, *Denkmale*. In poetry, abbreviations such as *mächt'ge*, *wen'ge*, *Reu'*, *klagt'* for *mächtige*, *wenige*, *Reue*, *klagte* are permitted, and poetry alone disposes of expressions like *Herze*, *Genoss*, *zurücke* for *Herz*, *Genosse*, *zurück*; *mein*, *dein* for *meiner*, *deiner*; *des*, *wes* for *dessen*, *wessen*; *inniglich*, *wonniglich*, *seliglich* for *innig*, *wonnig*, *selig*. Again, poetry may say *welch Getümmel* for *welches Getümmel*, *ein glücklich Land* for *ein glückliches Land*, *Röslein roth* for *rothes Röslein*, *gebraucht der Zeit* for *gebraucht die Zeit*, *tönt die Glocke Grabgesang*, etc., and it avoids cumbersome participial expressions, such as *ein das Gehör bezaubernder Gesang*. Poetry dispenses with words of foreign origin, and has a vocabulary of its own, e.g. *frevel* (=*frevelhaft*), *frommen*, *gülden*, *Hain*, *Hindin*, *Mähr*, *Odem*, *lind*, *schwank*, *siech*, *zag*; *Gemeine* is more poetical than *Gemeinde*, *Fittich* than *Flügel*, *Ross* than *Pferd*, *nahen* than

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sich nähern, mehren, zeugen, zwingen than *vermehren, erzeugen, bezwingen;* and such words as *Erlebnis, Gesichtskreis, deswegen, derjenige, Seelenruhe* are left to prose.

Xmas 1903

2. Extension of the Material of Language.

We have considered the causes of language-changes, the question why new words are continually taking the place of old words; these considerations have shown that in speaking we cannot, for various reasons, always use a word which was formerly used under the same circumstances. We shall now consider, what is the relation between the new material and the old; how is it possible to express the same idea now by this now by that sound-image? and what happens when an idea has not as yet been represented by any sound-image, when it is to find expression for the first time? Both these objects may be attained in two ways, (1) by the use of words already in existence (change of meaning), (2) by the creation of new words (neologism).

a. Change of Meaning.

When an already existing word is to be used for the first time to express an idea, no relation need exist between this word and the word which formerly expressed the same idea. But, in order to be understood, there must exist some inner relation between the idea to be expressed and that of the word which is used to express it. This relation may be one of resemblance. As we recognise a person by his portrait, though it may be only a rough outline sketch, so an object or idea may be called up in the mind by another which has only a general resemblance to it; the imagination supplies the lines which are wanting. Thus the name of a genus may arouse in the mind the image of a certain species belonging to it, or even of a single individual, provided that the connection in which it occurs indicates the features which are wanting. So when Luther wrote '*das Wort sie sollen lassen stan*,' he meant by *Wort* the word of scripture; 'scripture,' again (*die Schrift*), is used in the sense of 'holy scripture' (*die Heilige Schrift*). Again, when we say '*er gehört der Gesellschaft an*,' 'he moves in society,' or '*er ist von Familie*,' 'he is a man of family,' the mind supplies the

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adjective *gut*. When the original or 'proper' meaning of a word is lost, and it exists only in its new or 'figurative' meaning, we say that it has suffered 'restriction of meaning.' Thus the word *Brunst*, which formerly had the wider meaning of *Brand*, 'burning, fire,' cf. *Feuersbrunst*, 'conflagration,' has become restricted in meaning to 'ardent passion;' *Ecke*, 'corner,' originally something 'sharp' or 'pointed,' *e.g.* the *edge* of a sword; *gerben*, orig. = 'prepare,' now = 'tan' (leather).

On the other hand, the name of the individual may call up in the mind the image of the species, or the species that of the genus, and so the meaning of a word is 'extended,' as when we say 'man is mortal,' meaning human beings, both men and women.

Again, change of meaning may take place by a simple transference of the meaning of one idea to another, as when designations of time are interchanged; thus *Mittag*, 'mid-day, noon,' is in some dialects used in the sense of *Nachmittag*, 'afternoon;' similarly the word *noon* meant originally the 'ninth' hour, L. *nona*, i.e. three o'clock in the afternoon; *Abend*, again, is used in some dialects for 'afternoon.'

Active and passive expressions are often interchanged, *e.g.* the passive verb *heissen* meant originally to 'give a name,' afterwards to 'receive, possess a name;' the verbs *kehren*, *treiben*, *wenden* were formerly active verbs, but may now be used both actively and intransitively; *fahren* was formerly only intransitive, but is now also used in the sense of 'drive;' *selbstvergessen* is one who forgets or has forgotten himself, not one who is forgotten; the *Bedienter* is one who serves, not one who is served, and a *Studierter* is one who has studied; *besonnen*, *überlegt* are adjectives with an active meaning, 'thoughtful, deliberate,' though they have the forms of passive participles; *ungefreut* is used in the dialect of Bâle for *unerfreulich*. The different dialects make no distinction between *lehren*, 'teach' and *lernen*, 'learn;' either word is used for both ideas, just as in English *learn* is used for both *learn* and *teach*. A strong resemblance is felt to exist between the different impressions of the senses; those of sight are transferred to hearing: with the old German poets the verb *sehen* was not infrequently used for to 'hear.' *Grell* and *hell* were originally used of sounds only, cf. the words *Grille*, *Hall*, *hallen*, 'sound,' but are now used also of colour; *süss* may be applied to the

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smell as well as the taste, and *schmecken* was in Middle High German used in the sense of 'smell' as well as of 'taste;' *bitter* was originally 'that which bites,' and *piquant*, 'that which pricks;' and *tones* are spoken of as sharp, flat, soft, hard, liquid, etc.

Another kind of change of meaning rests upon identity of purpose or similarity of effects of different things. Thus the word *Streichhölzchen* may be used of a match, even if made of wax; *Fensterscheibe* (*Scheibe* = a round pane or disc) is commonly applied to panes of glass which are not round, but which answer the same purpose as the ancient circular panes. A strong impression suggests a painful one, and so adverbs of intensity are frequently borrowed from words which imply a painful feeling, e.g. *es ist grausam kalt*, 'it is terribly cold;' *es dauerte furchtbar lang*, 'it lasted a fearfully long time;' the word *sehr* meant originally 'painful,' cf. *versehren*.

In some districts of Middle Germany *oder* is used for *aber*; both words have in common that they denote antithesis.

When the resemblance between different objects is of a more external and accidental kind, the change of meaning is usually called Metaphor. We cannot, however, draw a sharp line of distinction between this kind of change and that of the previous examples. The possibilities are endless. Inanimate objects are compared to animate. From parts of the living body come the expressions *Nagelkopf*, 'head of a nail;' *Landzunge*, 'tongue of land;' *Felsennase*, cf. the Nase, Dunge Ness, etc.; *Flaschenhals*, 'neck of a bottle;' *Bergrücken*, 'ridge (*i.e.* back) of a mountain;' *Meerbusen*, 'bay (lit. bosom) of the sea,' cf. L. *sinus*; *Meeresarm*, 'arm of the sea;' *Stuhlbein*, 'leg of a table;' *Thalsohle*, 'bottom (lit. sole) of a valley.' On the other hand, names of inanimate objects are applied to parts of the body, e.g. *Kopf*, orig. 'cup;' *Brustkorb*, 'the chest;' *Herzkammern*, 'chambers of the heart;' *Becken*, 'pelvis,' lit. 'basin;' *Kniescheibe*, 'knee-pan,' lit. 'disc.' Expressions of time are mostly borrowed from ideas of space, e.g. *Zeitpunkt*, 'point of time;' *Zeitraum*, 'space of time;' *eine Spanne Zeit*, lit. 'span of time;' *Zeitabschnitt*, 'division of time;' we speak of the days becoming 'shorter' or 'longer;' and prepositions like *um*, *nach*, *vor*, originally used as relations of space only, are now also used for those of time. Expressions derived from ideas of time and space may be applied to the connection of

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cause and effect, cf. *aus Hass*, 'from, out of hatred;' *vor Neid*, 'from (lit. before) envy; *um ein Geringes*, 'for (lit. around) a trifle;' *wegen* was originally the dative plural of *Weg*, the full expression being *von . . . wegen;* so *des Geldes wegen* was originally = *auf den Wegen des Geldes*. *Weil*, 'because,' was originally a conjunction of time, E. *while*, cf. *alldieweil*, an adverbial case of the substantive *Weile*. Expressions borrowed from gaming and sport are applied to the events of serious and practical life, e.g. *aufs Spiel setzen*, 'stake' (one's life, reputation); *einen Trumpf ausspielen*, 'play a trump card;' *alles auf eine Karte setzen; die Würfel sind gefallen*, 'the die is cast;' *die Kugel ist im Rollen; er hat den Vogel abgeschossen*, 'he has gained a victory' (in shooting-contests, in which the target is a bird on a pole); *karambolieren*, 'to cannon' (in billiards), hence 'to collide;' *ins Schwarze treffen*, 'to hit the mark;' *einem etwas vorgeben*, 'to give somebody points, a start;' *einen Stein im Brett haben bei einem*, 'to be in favour with a person.'

The most important kind of metaphor is the expression of abstract ideas, of mental and intellectual phenomena or actions by comparison with phenomena observed by, and actions of, the senses, e.g. *einsehen*, 'see' (with the mind); *erfassen*, *begreifen*, *vernehmen*, 'seize, grasp, comprehend;' *Fassung*, 'self-command, composure;' *Verhalten*, 'conduct, behaviour;' *Zustand*, 'state, condition;' *erinnern*, 'remember,' is lit. 'to bring into;' *lehren* was orig. 'to bring on the way,' Got. *laisjan*, connected with *Geleise*, 'track;' *lernen* was the passive verb corresponding to it, 'to be brought on the way;' *befehlen* was orig. 'to hand over;' *Vernunft*, 'reason,' was orig. '*das Vernehmen;*' *Angst*, *Bangigkeit*, the feeling of 'narrowness, closeness' (*bange* = *be-ange*); *List*, 'craft, cunning,' which in Middle High German meant in general 'judgment, discernment,' is related to *lehren*, *lernen*, *Geleise*. Of the mentally deranged they say '*er ist verrückt*,' i.e. 'he has moved (*rücken*) out of his right state;' or *es ist eine Schraube los*, 'he has a screw loose somewhere;' or *er hat einen Sparren zu viel*, 'he has a rafter too many,' or he is conceived as having strange objects in his head, cf. '*es rappelt*,' 'he has a rattling;' '*er hat einen Vogel*,' cf. 'he has a bee in his bonnet;' and they speak of a person as having *Grillen*, 'crickets;' *Mucken*, 'midges' (= *Mücken*), or *Raupen*, 'caterpillars,' cf. the E. *maggots*.

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In the case of metaphors handed down from early times, it may easily happen that the ground of the transference is not obvious at first sight. The cause of this lies not so much in the external alteration of words, and the consequent obscuring of the etymology, as in the disappearance of customs and ideas which gave rise to the metaphor. Thus the expression *einen Span wider jemand haben*, 'be at law with,' points to an old symbolic action, which consisted in taking a chip (*Span*) out of the wood-work of a debtor's house by his creditor; *den Handschuh werfen*, 'throw the gauntlet,' points to the fact that a challenge consisted in the actual throwing of a glove; in order to understand the word *Angebinde*, 'birthday present,' it must be remembered that the present was actually tied to the arm or neck of a child.

With certain relationships we connect the idea of certain qualities, though not necessarily, and so the names of those relations may be transferred by metaphor to others who are supposed to possess those same qualities. Thus *Mütterchen*, 'mother,' is often used in addressing old women; *mein Sohn, mein Kind*, are used as expressions of endearment; *ein komischer Onkel* is a 'funny fellow;' in some dialects *Schwätzfrabase* (*Base* = 'cousin') is used for a 'loquacious woman,' and *basen* is 'to chatter, gossip' (cf. the E. *gossip* from *godsib* = 'godmother,' and Fr. *commère*, *commérages* = old wives' tales); in the dialect of Bâle the word *Tochter* is used in the general sense of *Mädchen*.

Again, certain proper names of persons are often connected with certain qualities, and so have come to be used as common names to denote persons possessing those qualities. Thus, *Hans* (= *Johannes*), *Grete* (*Margarete*), *Peter*, *Stoffel* or *Töffel* (for *Christophel*), are names for simple or stupid people, cf. *simple Simon; Prahlhans* is a 'boaster;' *Schmalhans* is a 'niggard;' *Rüpel* (*Ruprecht*) a 'ruffian;' in the language of Berlin *Quaselfritze*, *Quaselliese*, *Quaselpeter* are used in the sense of 'chatterbox;' in Bâle a good-natured fellow is called a *Baschi* (*Sebastian*), and *Leahnl* (*Leonhardt*) is in Lower Austrian equivalent to 'fellow.' Similarly, adjectives of nationality have come to denote certain qualities, e.g. *böhmisch*, 'Bohemian,' and *spanisch* are equivalent to 'foreign, strange,' as in the expressions *das sind ihm böhmische Dörfer*, 'that is Greek to him' (probably from the apparently unpronounceable character of Slavonic names), or *das kommt mir spanisch vor;* the word *altfränkisch* means 'old-

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fashioned.' In the fifteenth century *Lazarusmensch* was used for a 'leper,' cf. Fr. *lazaret*, 'hospital,' and It. *lazzaroni*, 'beggars;' in the seventeenth century *rolfinken* meant in Jena to 'dissect,' after the name of Professor *Rolfing;* from the name of the French architect *Lenôtre* comes the adjective *lenotrisch*, applied to gardens with artificially cut trees and hedges; and a piece of roguery is called *Eulenspiegelei*, Fr. *espièglerie*, after the name of the real or mythical jester Tyll Eulenspiegel.

A very common transference of meaning consists in making a part of an object represent the whole object. Thus, the head is made to stand for the whole body, as in Schiller's verse '*er zählt die Häupter seiner Lieben;*' *das gastliche Dach*, 'the hospitable roof,' or *die gastliche Schwelle*, 'the hospitable threshold,' are equivalent to 'the hospitable house;' *Dickkopf* is one who has a 'thick head;' *Gelbschnabel*, 'a fledgeling' (lit. 'yellow beak'), also 'an inexperienced person;' *Langfinger*, one with 'a long finger, a thief.' A distinctive article of dress or implement may stand for the person who wears or uses it, e.g. *Kutte*, 'cowl,' for a 'monk;' *Schürze*, 'apron,' for a 'woman,' cf. E. *petticoat;* in the language of the German student the maid-of-all-work is a *Hausbesen* or *Zimmerbesen*. Again, the name of a place may be used for the people who frequent it, e.g. *das Abgeordnetenhaus*, 'house of representatives,' or *die Kammer*, 'the chamber,' cf. E. *cabinet*. The word *Frauenzimmer* originally denoted the 'women's apartment,' and in the last century was still a collective name; similarly, *der Bursche*, 'student' or 'young fellow,' has come from *die burse*, L. *bursa*, = a place in which students lived in common. Names of objects are transferred to qualities, thus, *Herz*, 'heart,' stands for 'courage' (itself a derivative of L. *cor*); if we say a man has a 'sharp eye' we mean he can see well; abstract names denoting actions are transferred to persons, thus, *Verstärkung*, 'reinforcement,' is applied to a body of men sent to reinforce; *Wache*, 'watch,' is a body of men who hold the watch; in *Gefängniss*, 'prison,' orig. = 'captivity,' an abstract name denoting a state is applied to a building. Other examples of abstract names developing a concrete meaning are, *Herrschaft*, *Kameradschaft* for *Herr*, *Kamerad; Essen*, *Trinken* for 'food' and 'drink;' *die Jugend* for the 'young people;' *der junge Leichtsinn*, *der kleine Uebermut* for the 'careless young fellow,' the 'little wanton.'

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Other examples of change of meaning are, *holen*, 'fetch,' originally to 'call,' Gk. καλεῖν, E. *hale; lauschen*, 'listen,' was at first equivalent to 'lie hidden;' *verwegen*, 'fool-hardy,' is related to *wägen*, and denotes 'one who has falsely estimated his powers,' and in consequence shows too much boldness; *erschrecken* is really to 'start up, jump,' as in *Heuschrecke*, the insect which jumps in the hay, E. *grasshopper;* the verb denoted at first the effect of 'being frightened;' on the other hand, *in Harnisch gerathen*, 'put on armour,' now denotes the cause of that action—namely, 'get angry;' *sengen*, E. *singe*, originally denoted the effect of heat upon water, and meant 'cause to sing;' it was a factitive verb of *singen*, as *drängen* is of *dringen*. Sincerity and simplicity may be the consequences of stupidity, so the stupid one is called *einfältig* or *albern*, Mhg. *alwaere* = 'quite truthful;' or badness is conceived as the effect of weakness, thus *schlecht* was originally the same as *schlicht*, 'simple,' as in Schiller, K. u. L., '*Gott weiss wie ich schlechter Mann zu diesem Engel gekommen bin;*' cf. *schlecht und recht*, *schlechthin*, *schlechtweg*, 'simply, plainly.'

The observation of the development of meanings offers, as we see, a very rich and almost confusing picture; and all these possibilities are not only going on alongside of each other, but are continually crossing one another; one and the same word can, in course of time, or simultaneously, combine in itself the most diverse meanings. The word *Kopf* meant originally a 'drinking bowl;' in some parts of Germany the word *Tassenkopf* is still used for 'cup.' The word *Schröpfkopf*, 'cupping-glass,' is applied to a 'leech,' on account of the resemblance of a part of its body to that article; so the name of an inanimate object is applied to an animal, and that of a part to the whole. *Kopf* in its ordinary meaning, 'head,' rests upon a double transference: in the first place, the cranium was so called from its resemblance to a drinking-bowl; and, secondly, the name of the part was transferred to the whole (similarly Fr. *tête* is from L. *testa*). In the sense of 'head,' *Kopf* is used in numerous metaphors, e.g. *Kehlkopf*, 'head of the windpipe, larynx;' *Krautkopf*, 'cabbage-head;' *Mohnkopf*, 'poppy-head;' *Balkenkopf*, 'end of a beam;' *Bergkopf*, 'top of a mountain;' *Brückenkopf*, '*tête-de-pont;*' *Nagelkopf*, 'head of a nail;' *Säulenkopf*, 'head of a pillar;' *Kopf einer Note*, 'of a musical note;' *Kopf eines Bogens Papier*, 'of a sheet of paper.' The head sometimes stands as

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representing the whole body, as a 'herd of so many head;' '*so viel Köpfe, so viel Sinne*,' = *quot homines, tot sententiae.* The head is used for qualities of the mind, of which it is supposed to be the seat, as in the expressions *die Dinge wollen uns nicht aus dem Kopfe; wir wollen unsern Kopf durchsetzen*, 'we will have our way;' *er hat einen eigenen, harten, guten Kopf*, 'he is obstinate, has a hard head, good brains;' or for the latter expression simply *er hat Kopf.* In expressions like *er ist ein Hohlkopf, Querkopf, Schwachkopf*, 'he is empty-headed, wrong-headed, soft-headed,' the part is used for the whole, and the locality for what is in it; whilst in the expression *ein Kopf*, 'a man of accomplishments,' three different kinds of transference are combined.

In considering the changes of form produced by analogy we made the observation, that a word did not suffer the same change in each of its functions or meanings; so here we may make an observation of an opposite but a like nature, that a sound-group does not suffer the same change of meaning in each of its uses. In the former case we observed isolated forms of a word in its phonetically developed state; so here we may observe cases of a kind of isolation of meaning, of certain sound-groups retaining under certain circumstances a more primitive meaning. They occur especially in compound words, in rhymed formulas or proverbial sayings. Thus in *Feuersbrunst* the component *Brunst* retains its older meaning of *Brand* = 'burning,' whilst the word itself has adopted a figurative meaning. *Ding* meant originally a 'judicial transaction;' it retains the older meaning in the verb *bedingen*, 'contract, stipulate.' *Fahren* could formerly be used of a movement on foot, and has retained that meaning in *Wallfahrt*, 'pilgrimage.' The older meaning of *klein*, i.e. 'fine, delicate,' remains in the substantive *Kleinod*, 'jewel,' which afterwards combined the meaning of 'costly.' *Leib* formerly corresponded to *Leben*, E. *life*, and this meaning remains in *Leibrente*, 'life-annuity,' *Leibzucht*, 'maintenance for life.' *Leiche*, 'corpse,' was originally equivalent to 'body,' and retains that meaning in *Leichdorn*, 'corn,' lit. 'thorn in the body.'

Another resemblance may be observed between changes by analogy and changes of meaning by transference. The result of changes by analogy is that one or more words exist with the

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same meaning; the result of transference of meaning is that the same word becomes the bearer of several meanings. As a word whose meaning has been transferred often retains its proper or primitive meaning beside the metaphorical meaning, and as several metaphors are possible for the same idea, the consequence of transference of meaning is the development of Synonyms, *i.e.* words with a like meaning. The number of synonyms differs greatly for different ideas; the simpler objects or ideas, which differ little in their various aspects, and arouse little interest, *e.g.* 'air, water,' have hardly any synonyms; ideas which appear under many different aspects, which call forth expressions of wit and humour, have often a wealth of synonyms; examples are words for 'be in love,' 'to cheat,' and especially for 'to be drunk.'

The different synonyms which stand for the same idea may differ in meaning and employment in varying degrees; sometimes they differ according to the grade of education of the speaker, or according to the occasion upon which they are used; they may be used under exactly similar circumstances, and yet each may preserve a slightly different shade; or lastly they may exactly cover one another. But the latter state of things never endures for any length of time; of two exactly synonymous terms one must soon succumb.

b. Neologisms.

New words may be formed, and are daily formed, by using already existing words, *i.e.* by composition. Two words are connected together to form a third; it is implied thereby that the two simple ideas combine together in one way or another in the compound idea.

The composition may be of a two-fold kind. Firstly, the two ideas are upon an equal footing; the two words might stand separate and joined by 'and,' and the collective idea would be the same; a simple addition of two factors has taken place. This oldest and most simple kind of composition became very rare in the historical period of the German language. In the oldest Teutonic compounds like *sunvader* (= *Sohnvater*), with the meaning '*Sohn und Vater*,' were possible; in modern German this kind of composition is represented only by the

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numerals *dreizehn* to *neunzehn* and by compound adjectives, such as *bittersüss, blaugrün, hell-dunkel, warm-kalt*.

Secondly, the two ideas are of unequal importance as regards the whole; the one is essential, the other unessential, and determines the first. The essential idea contains the genus to which the whole belongs, the unessential idea the species. The less important and determining part stands first, the more important in the second place, e.g. *Gartenbaum*, 'a tree which stands in a garden.' This kind of composition is not as simple as the former; the relation between the two parts must be sought. There is a considerable difference in meaning between *Gartenbaum*, 'garden-tree,' and *Baumgarten*, 'orchard.' The relation of the two component parts to each other is different in *Goldmensch*, 'monied man,' and in *Goldgräber*, 'gold-digger;' in *Königstiger*, 'royal tiger,' in *Königssohn*, 'king's son,' and in *Königsmörder*, 'regicide;' in *Feuerwasser*, 'fire-water,' in *Feuertaufe*, 'baptism of fire,' and in *Feuerschein*, 'gleam of fire;' in *Höllenstrafe*, 'hell-torment,' and in *Höllenlärm*, 'infernal noise.' In many compounds of this kind we may indeed say that simple addition has taken place, e.g. *Butterbrot*, 'piece of bread and butter,' since it contains both butter and bread; *Altmeister*, 'the senior master of a guild,' since he is firstly 'old,' and secondly a 'master.' But the addition is here of quite a different nature; a real union, a complete blending, has taken place, and *Werwolf*, lit. 'man-wolf' (*Wer* = Lat. *vir*, 'man'), *i.e.* a wolf which could take human shape, is a very different thing from a 'man *and* a wolf.'

The unity could in course of time become still stronger. As long as the two parts which form the compound have an independent existence, the feeling remains that there has been a simple joining of two parts. But the separate existence of the parts may have ceased. If the first part has ceased to exist independently, we have composition by means of so-called prefixes, e.g. *un-*, *be-*, *ent-*, *ge-*, *ver-*. It is still possible to form new words by means of these prefixes; but in such cases it is incorrect, strictly speaking, to call it composition, *i.e.* we do not add *un* + *orthographisch* or *er* + *kapern* to form *unorthographisch*, *erkapern*, but more correctly speaking, after the model of *schön*—*unschön*, *hold*—*unhold*, we form *orthographisch*—*unorthographisch*, and after the model of *jagen*—*erjagen*, *streben*—*erstreben*, we form *kapern*—*erkapern*. If the second part has ceased to exist inde-

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pendently, then derivation takes place. The syllable *-heit* was originally a word by itself, meaning 'shape,' and *Schönheit* meant primitively 'beautiful shape.' In the adjectives ending in *-lich*, which in pre-historic times were probably substantives, that syllable is the old German substantive *lîch*, 'body,' which we find in *Leiche*, *Leichnam* (cf. E. *lich*-gate), and the words *feindlich*, *freundlich* would be originally equivalent to *Feindesleib*, *Freundesleib*. The case of words ending in *-haft*, *-schaft*, *-tum* is similar, and we may conclude that other derivative syllables, which no longer appear in historic times as separate words, formerly had an independent existence. And as in the case of prefixes, when these derivative syllables are still used to form new words, we cannot, correctly speaking, call it a union of two factors, but the neologism is formed after an existing model; thus, after the model *Feind — feindlich*, *Land — ländlich*, might be formed *Manchester — manchesterlich*. There is then no fundamental difference between composition by means of prefixes and derivations; in both cases, superficially regarded, an already existing word combines with a part of another already existing word.

In order to form new words, however, it is not even necessary that already existing words should enter into their composition; a part of a word may serve as the point of departure for new creations. If two words have only one or more sounds in common, the uttering of one of them will recall the other to the mind. We may have observed that in order to express a quality by several words of cognate meaning, a preference is often shown for words with the same initial sound, e.g. *ein lüderlicher, lumpiger, lotteriger Mensch*. This preference explains the origin of alliteration in the old Teutonic poetry; the style of that poetry demanded the frequent use of expressions of cognate meaning, and those of them seemed most nearly related which were bound together by the same initial.

Thus a word like *trippeln* has taken its initial sound from *traben*, *trappen*, *treten*; the remainder of the word was probably formed after an older word, *zippeln* (cf. *Zipperlein*, 'gout'), of similar meaning; *zupfen* by its initial recalls *ziehen*, and by the remainder of the word *rupfen*; *rutschen* has taken its *r* from *rücken*; *klirren*, *schwirren* were probably influenced by *girren*; *knarren* by *schnarren*; *Randal* by *Skandal*. It is not necessary to prove that every sound in a new word has previously formed

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part of a word of similar meaning. One of the principal sources of new words still flows as it did thousands of years ago, and new words are still being created by imitation of sounds of nature (Onomatopœia). Words like *bammeln*, *bimmeln*, *patschen*, *plumpsen*, *klatschen*, etc., are creations of quite recent date. It is indeed difficult to determine in each case whether a word has been created anew, or whether it has been formed from old materials of language.

The meaning of words formed after this manner is easily guessed, although they may be unconnected with any existing material of language, since they paint by their sounds that which is to be expressed. Those words which are not connected with any previously existing words, and in which there is no sound-painting, are less easily understood; they have to be learned, as language is learned by a child. The German language has received a large contingent of words of this kind by borrowing from foreign languages. But the literary language has also received fresh material from a purely German source; Haller, Lessing, and Goethe consciously introduced many dialectical words. Moreover, many old and long dead words have been resuscitated; this revival was due principally to the Romantic movement and the study of old German, assisted by the tales of chivalry of the end of the last century, and the historical novel of this century (Scheffel, Freytag, etc.) In this manner words like *Fehde*, *Gau*, *Ger*, *Hain*, *Halle*, *Hort*, *Kämpe*, *Minne*, have again become a living possession of the language. The composer Richard Wagner has shown himself the boldest in resuscitating old German words; his flow of language is in itself often sufficiently unintelligible, and becomes still more obscure by the introduction of words like *freislich*, *Friedel*, *glau*, *neidlich*, *Nicker*, etc.

All the changes which we have considered, the creations of new words and meanings and the decay of the old words and meanings, combined with the changes in sounds and forms, have as a necessary consequence the alteration in aspect which language offers at different periods. This alteration is quite gradual; no point of time may be fixed upon as the end of an old and the beginning of a new period. Every neologism, however, comes into existence suddenly; and we may determine the point of time at which numerous expressions arose. Luther

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mentions the words *beherzigen*, *erspriesslich*, *tugendreich* as new words; the expressions *gehen wir*, *nehmen wir* in the sense of *wir wollen gehen*, *nehmen* appeared for the first time in the last century; Lessing coined the words *empfindsam* and *weinerlich*, and Jahn (1778-1852) the words *turnen*, *Volksthum*, *volksthümlich*; and *abrüsten* has come into being during the last few decades.

Words perish very gradually; the old material yields step by step to the new. Some forms of old words and expressions perish before others; thus of many old verbs the participles alone have remained in existence, e.g. *aufgedunsen*, *abgefeimt*, *entrückt*. Substantives have survived only in combination with certain prepositions, e.g. *Irre* in the expression *in die Irre*, *in der Irre gehen*, 'go astray,' and *Rüste in zu Rüste gehen*, 'set' (of the sun). Especially compound words and stereotyped phrases have preserved old materials of language. In the second part of *Bräutigam*, E. *bridegroom*, we see an old word meaning 'man,' Ohg. *gomo* (= L. *homo*); in *Karfreitag*, 'Good Friday,' the old work *kara*, 'complaint, pain,' E. *care*; in *durchbläuen*, 'give a good thrashing to,' which is not connected in any way with *blau*, the old verb *bleuen*, 'to strike,' cf. E. *blow*. An old verb *gnâden* survives in the expression *Gnad' dir Gott*; and in *lichterloh brennen*, 'be all in a blaze,' is contained an adverbial genitive, prop. = '*mit lichter Lohe brennen*.'

These changes differ in their kind and in their rapidity in different territories; they contribute their share to the formation of dialectical differences. Words and meanings which have long perished in one spot continue in another in living use. The same peculiarity may be observed in the distinct languages of certain circles of society; thus in the name which seamen apply to their knitted gloves, *Wanten*, we see the old German word for 'glove,' which the Romance languages borrowed as *gant* (Fr.) and *guanto* (Ital.) The language of the hunter preserves many such old words, e.g. *abprossen*, 'bite off the buds,' from Mhg. *broz*, 'bud;' *rahmen*, 'overtake,' from Mhg. *râmen*, 'strive after;' *wölfen*, 'bring forth young,' from Mhg. *welf*, 'the young of hounds or wild animals,' E. *whelp*.

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B. GRAMMAR OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

NEW HIGH GERMAN ORTHOGRAPHY.

A LANGUAGE would be perfect in its orthography if it had as many orthographic signs or letters as it has sounds, and if each sound were always represented by the same letter. The German orthography (though infinitely more phonetic than the English) is yet far from having attained this ideal. On the one hand, the same sound is expressed by different signs, e.g. *sie waren* is pronounced exactly like *wahren* and *die Waaren ; voll* has the same initial sound as its derivative *füllen*, *vor* as its cognate *für*. On the other hand, one sign often stands for several different sounds ; thus *ch* in *Bach*, *Loch*, *erlaucht* is pronounced differently from the *ch* in *Bäche*, *Löcher*, *erleuchtet*, *Milch*, *mancher*, *Lerche ;* after the sounds *a*, *o*, *u*, this sound is more guttural ; after *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* and consonants it is more palatal ; before *s* this sound is pronounced as *k*, in the words *Dachs*, *Luchs*, *sechs*, *Wachs*, etc. The sign *ch* exemplifies also the necessity of expressing a single sound by a combination of two letters. Similarly *ie* is used as the sign of the long vowel *î*, and *ng* to represent the guttural nasal sound in *lang*, *Gang*, etc. ; whilst in *sch* we have a combination of three letters to represent a single sound. The reverse of this meets us in the letters *x* and *z*, which both stand for double sounds, $k+s$ and $t+s$. From the above it will be seen that a careful distinction must be made between letters and sounds.

The causes of this defective spelling are to be explained in great part by the manner in which orthography comes into being—by its history. Each individual learns his orthography from another, who in his turn has learnt it from another ; so that it may happen that a person uses the same spelling which was used several generations before him. In the meantime the pronunciation may have changed without the person who writes being conscious of it. This sufficiently explains the contradiction

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between the sounds and their signs. The invention of printing was especially instrumental in increasing the discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation, since by the introduction of printing, and the consequent wider circulation of books, the orthography in general became fixed, as it has remained to this day. Now since the fifteenth century many changes have taken place in the sounds of the German language; thus, the diphthong *ei* is now pronounced *ai* (or, more exactly, *ae*); in *lieb*, *Dieb* the second vowel was formerly pronounced separately; the words *steif*, *spitz* are pronounced as if spelled *schteif*, *schpitz*, whilst originally the initial sound was a pure *s*. Again, in *Ratte*, *Vetter*, *Himmel*, *Sitte*, *Donner*, or any other word containing a double consonant, we do not actually pronounce a double sound: the four sounds *r*, short *a*, simple *t* and *e* would form the word usually spelled *Ratte*. But in the Middle High German language the double consonants were actually pronounced, or, to speak more correctly, the consonants were drawn out as in modern Italian. During the transition period from Middle High German to New High German, almost all the short vowels which stood before single consonants became lengthened in pronunciation, whilst those which stood before double consonants preserved their short sound. Then the pronunciation of the double consonants became simplified, but they were retained in the orthography; hence arose the idea of a connection between the doubling of the consonant and the shortness of the preceding vowel, and the consonant was doubled in words which did not formerly contain the double sound, whenever (from whatever cause) a short vowel survived before an originally simple consonant; thus Mhg. *hĭmel*, *dŏner* are now spelt *Himmel*, *Donner*, because Mhg. *stĭmme*, *sonne* are now pronounced *Stĭme*, *Sŏne*.

These defects in the Nhg. orthography have not been quite without significance for the spoken language itself; among the educated classes the spelling sometimes reacts upon the pronunciation. Many persons distinguish the pronunciation of the root-vowels in words like *stet* and *bestätigen*, *leer*, *schwer*, and *erklären*, *gefährlich*; yet all of them represent the Mhg. sound *ae*. The Germans of Esthonia pronounce the diphthong in *Haide*, *Kaiser*, *Maid* differently from that in *Heide*, *keiner*, *Meineid*; in M. High German all these words were spelled with *ei*, and in the modern dialects the pronunciation of the diphthong is the same in all.

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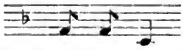
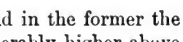
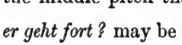
CHAPTER II.

NEW HIGH GERMAN ACCENTUATION.

THE quality of the emphasis or accent which distinguishes one syllable of a word or sentence from the other may be of a two-fold nature: Firstly, the pitch of the voice in which the different sounds are produced may be different. This change in the musical accentuation is comparatively unimportant in words taken singly, but is of the greatest importance for the whole sentence and its meaning.

The different kinds of sentences—the assertive, the interrogative, and the imperative sentences—differ considerably as regards the musical pitch of their different parts. In the simple sentence which makes an assertion the pitch is usually a descending one; thus the sentence *er geht fort* may be illustrated as follows:—  . The pitch of the interrogative and imperative sentences is a rising one; and in the former the concluding part of the sentence rises considerably higher above the middle pitch than in the latter. The interrogative sentence *er geht fort?* may be represented as follows:—  and the command *er geht fort!* (*mache er, dass er fortkommt!*) by  . When therefore with the last word of a sentence we have not reached a conclusion, a point of rest, but point to something which is to follow, then the tone of the voice rises. Hence in a compound sentence the voice always rises before a new part of the sentence is begun. The reason of this rising and falling of the voice is to be explained, according to the opinion of one of the most eminent German psychologists, by the general character of musical notes. The deep and descending notes have a firm, decided, and tranquil character;

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the high notes express excitement, and are themselves inciting; they are much more aggressive and alluring than the deep notes. From this it may appear strange that in interrogative sentences the voice ascends to a higher pitch than in imperative sentences. Possibly the explanation may be found in the fact that a command can be enforced by a gesture.

Secondly, emphasis may be expressed by greater stress in articulation; it is this force of which we usually think when we speak of one or the other syllable having the accent. The force with which the individual words of a sentence are uttered is graduated according to their degree of importance in the sentence, according to their logical weight. In the individual word the rule holds good, with few exceptions, that the most important syllable is accented with the greatest force. According to this universal law any syllable of a word may have the accent if we wish particularly to emphasise it; thus we might say of a person: *er ist bekleídet, nicht bemált; er ist békleidet, nicht éntkleidet; er ist bekleidét, nicht bekleidénd.* Setting aside such exceptional cases like these, we may say that in German words one and the same syllable always has the strongest accent—differing in this important respect from Latin and Greek (see p. 7)—whatever be the number of syllables which follow it, e.g. *eín, eínig, Eínigkeit, Eínigkeitsbestrebungen.*

In the simple uncompounded word the root-syllable, *i.e.* the first syllable, has the fixed accent. Words like *Jägereí, Bübereí, hantíeren, stolzíeren* are only apparent exceptions; the derivative syllables *-ei* and *-ieren* are of French origin, and show the French mode of accentuation. But there is a tendency, even in loan-words, to throw back the accent upon the first syllable, according to the German manner.

In compound words the rule is not so simple. Of great importance is the logical relation in which the first part of the compound stands to the second. In the great majority of compound words the first component determines or delimits the second. If the first part is formed of a substantive, an adjective or a verb, then the accent is on the first syllable, as in the simple word, e.g. *Móndschein, Grúnspecht, Trétrad.* The accentuation is the same, when adverbs, prepositions, and other particles are joined to substantives or adjectives, e.g. *Wíedertäufer, Ántwort, Uéberfluss, vórlaut, Míssethat.* If a particle and a verb are

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joined together, the union may be of a two-fold kind: firstly, the two parts may be inseparable, then the accent is laid upon the root-syllable of the verb, not upon the particle, e.g. *belehren*, *entnéhmen*, *erfáhren*, *missfállen*, *verráten*, *zerreíssen*; secondly, the parts may be separable, then the accent rests upon the particle, e.g. *beístehen—er steht mir beí*, *fórtfallen—alle Bedenklichkeiten fielen fórt*, *wéggehen—er ist wéggegangen*. A number of particles may be either separable or inseparable, e.g. *dúrchbrechen—durchbréchen*, *übersetzen—übersétzen*, *úmgehen—umgéhen*, *únterstellen—unterstéllen*, *wíderbellen*, *wíderhallen—widerfáhren*, *widerráten*.

These laws of accentuation of words compounded with particles have a number of apparent exceptions. Words like *Bescheíd*, *Eróberung*, *Verléger* appear to be compounded of particles and nouns, and we should expect them to be accented on the first syllable. But the words *Scheid*, *Oberung*, *Leger* do not exist as simple words; hence these words are not real substantive compounds, but derivatives from the verbs *bescheíden*, *eróbern*, *verlégen*, and are rightly accented like verbal compounds. On the other hand, *ántworten*, *úrkunden*, *úrteilen* are not compounded, as might be supposed, of particles and verbs, but are derivatives from the substantives *Ántwort*, *Úrkunde*, *Úrteil*, and in retaining the accent of these nouns they are no contradiction of the rule.

Very often the first member of the compound word has not that power of determining the meaning of the second. In such cases either the second part is accented, or the accent fluctuates between the first and the second part. The relation between the two parts may then be such, that the first member determines the second only in degree. This is the case with the prefix *ge-*; the difference in meaning between *leiten* and *geleiten*, *streng* and *gestreng*, *Wasser* and *Gewässer* is very inconsiderable; with the prefix *voll-*, as in *vollénden*, *vollfúhren*; with *all-*, as in *allgútig*, *allmáchtig*; and with compound words whose two parts are almost equivalent in meaning, as *grossmáchtig*, *kleinwínzig*, *mittendrínn*. There is besides a considerable number of words in German which, as first members of compound words, may have either a determining force, or simply a strengthening force; the same word may therefore bear two different meanings, according to its accentuation. Compare *steínreich*, *ein steínreicher Boden*, 'stony ground,' and *steinreích*, *ein steinreícher*

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Mann, 'a very rich man;' *blútarm*, 'poor in blood,' and *blutárm*, 'poor as a church mouse;' *bómbenfest*, 'bomb-proof,' and *bombenfést*, 'firm as a rock.' In these words, however, the accent may be laid upon the first component, even when it has a simply strengthening force.

The first member of the compound word appears still more unessential, when one is no longer conscious of the relation of the two members to each other. This happens when the second member no longer has an independent existence. The accent is then fluctuating; we may accent *nótwendig* or *notwéndig*, because *wendig* does not now exist as an independent word. So we accent *dreifáltig*, *barmhérzig*, *leíbhaftig* or *leibháftig*, *willkommen* or *willkómmen*, *wáhrscheinlich* or *wahrscheínlich*, *Jahrzéhnt*. This explains also the anomalous accentuation of *Forélle*, *lebéndig*. These words were simple derivative words, and were in Middle High German accented upon the first syllable. There being in New High German no other examples of derivatives ending in *-elle* and *-endig*, these words appeared to the linguistic sense as compounds, and were accordingly accented like other corresponding compounds.

In adjectives compounded with the particle *un-*, the accent rests upon the prefix, whenever the second part is used independently; otherwise the accent more commonly falls upon the second part, e.g. *schön—únschön*, *freundlich—únfreundlich*, *fruchtbar—únfruchtbar*, but *unbeschreíblich* (sometimes *únbeschreiblich*), *unermésslich*, *unsäglich*, *unzählig*, the simple words *beschreiblich*, *ermesslich*, etc., not being used alone.

An important question in considering compound words in German is, which syllable of the word has the secondary accent (*Tiefton*[1]), the next in importance to the principal accent. As a general rule, the *Tiefton* rests upon that syllable of the unaccented (*i.e.* not having the *Hochton*) member of the compound word, which would have the *Hochton* if it were used independently, e.g. *Sómmeràrbeit*, *hìnterlistig*, *Úneìnigkeit*. Under the

[1] The principal accent is called in German *Hochton*, the secondary accent *Tiefton*, words which imply pitch rather than force of articulation (greater or less force of articulation being usually accompanied by a raising or lowering of the pitch). The *Tiefton* is usually marked by the grave accent. The less important syllables are termed *unbetont*.

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following circumstances, however, this rule may be broken: when the first member is monosyllabic, and when in the second member the first syllable with the chief accent is immediately followed by a syllable with a heavy secondary accent. In such cases there is a tendency to make accented and unaccented syllables alternate regularly. Thus we may accent *únabsìchtlich*, *únvorsìchtig*, *Ámtsmissbràuch*, *Vórranzeìge*, *Vórurteìl*, *Nóchtarbeìt*, *únstatthàft*, *únfruchtbàr*, *Ánmerkùng*, although the second members, when standing alone, are accented *ábsichtlich*, *vórsichtig*, etc.

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and *Neidhart* we have the name of the Frankish historian *Nithart;* so also *Auerochse* and *Ur; raunen,* 'whisper, round,' and *die Runen,* 'runes;' *Gertrud* and *traut,* 'dear, familiar;' *Bruno* and *braun; Hüne* and *Heune,* 'giant.'

It will be observed that the three sound-changes just mentioned all show a uniform direction; in all three cases there is an approach to the vowel *a* (for the more correct representation of *mein, heute* as pronounced would be *main, haüte*). The same direction of change is observable in three diphthongs, which were already diphthongs in the older language; Mhg. *ei* changed to Nhg. *ai,* e.g. Mhg. *keiser*—Nhg. *Kaiser;* Mhg. *ou* changed to Nhg. *au,* e.g. Mhg. *boum*—Nhg. *Baum;* Mhg. *öu* changed to Nhg. *äu* (pron. *aü*), *e.g.* Mhg. *böume*—Nhg. *Bäume.* Each of the three Nhg. diphthongs *ei* (pron. and sometimes written *ai*), *au* and *aü* (written *eu* and *äu*), therefore represents two Mhg. sounds, namely—

Nhg.	ei	=	Mhg.	î	and ei
„	au	=	„	û	„ ou
„	eu	=	„	iu	„ öu.

In pronunciation, however, the distinction between the two sets of sounds has not become wholly obliterated. The Middle and Low Germans, who speak High German, no longer distinguish the sounds; but in the pronunciation of the South German these two classes of sounds have in general either a different colouring, or the components of the diphthongs differ in duration. Thus, *Weide,* 'willow,' and *Weise,* 'manner,' Mhg. *wîde, wîse,* are pronounced with short *ă + i,* whilst *Weide,* 'pasturage,' and *Waise,* 'orphan,' Mhg. *weide, weise,* are pronounced with *â + i;* similarly *die Taube,* 'dove,' Mhg. *tûbe,* is pronounced with short *ă + u,* but *der Taube,* 'the deaf man,' Mhg. *toube,* with *â + u; reuen,* Mhg. *riuwen,* with *ăü,* but *streuen,* Mhg. *ströuwen,* with *âü.*

Whilst some of the old long vowels have changed to diphthongs, we find that some old diphthongs have become simplified to vowels. These diphthongs are Mhg. *ie, uo, üe,* which have changed to Nhg. *î, û, ü,* e.g.

Mhg. er lief	—	Nhg.	lief (pron. lîf)
„ guot	—	„	gut
„ grüezen	—	„	grüssen

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This change first took place in Middle German, partly as early as the end of the Mhg. period. The Bavarian and Alemanic dialects have still faithfully preserved the old diphthongs, except that the second part of the diphthong has here and there suffered a slight change; thus *Bube*, *Blut*, *gut*, *Hut*, are in Alemanic *Bueb*, *Bluet*, *guet*, *Huet*, whilst in many parts of Bavaria the second part of the diphthong is *a*, *Buab*, *guat*, etc., just as they say also *liab* (*lieb*), *griazn* (*grüssen*). The fact that most of the long *î* sounds of New High German have arisen from the diphthong *ie* sufficiently explains the modern German practice of representing every long *î* by *ie*, even when it has a different origin.

We may observe that in one and the same word the root-vowel is pronounced sometimes short and sometimes long; either certain forms have a short vowel and certain others a long one, or the pronunciation fluctuates in one and the same form. Thus some parts of the verb *nehmen*, *wir nehmen*, *ihr nehmt* are long, others, *du nimmst*, *er nimmt*, *nimm* (*mm* is only the sign of a short vowel, see p. 70) are short; so also *geben*, *wir geben*, but *du gibst*, *er gibt*, *gib*, or *giebst*, *giebt*, *gieb*; *des Glāses*, *Tāges*, *des Wēges* are always pronounced with a long root-vowel, but the nominative and accusative are pronounced by the South Germans *Glās*, *Tāg*, *Wēg*, but by many North Germans *Glăs*, *Tăg*, *Wĕg*; some pronounce *Herzŏg*, *jĕnseits*, others, *Herzōg*, *jēnseits*. How is this difference to be explained? Whenever one and the same grammatical function is represented by double forms, it is to be presumed that one of them is the phonetic development, and that the other has arisen by analogy (see p. 43). So in these cases; the North German pronunciation shows the original condition, the correct development, *das Glăs—des Glāses*. The Mhg. paradigm was *glăs—glāses*, and in accordance with the law that a Mhg. short vowel became long in New High German when standing in an open syllable, *i.e.* when followed by a single consonant and a vowel, *glāses* became *Glāses*; when such was not the case, when a vowel was in a close syllable, the old short vowel remained. This lengthening of the root-vowel also first commenced in Middle German, as early as the Mhg. period.

Whenever, in spite of the law, we find a long vowel in a close syllable, it is to be explained by transmission from forms

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which had an open root-vowel; thus, *das Glās* is formed after the genitive *des Glāses*, *er gāb* (Mhg. *gāp*) after the plural *wir gāben*. Those who pronounce *der Wēg*, formed after *des Wēges*, say *wĕg*, 'away;' this adverb is simply the accusative of the substantive, which has preserved its original short vowel, because its connection with the substantive was no longer felt (see p. 45).

The above-mentioned law of the lengthening of a vowel in an open syllable is not without exceptions. When the single consonant which follows the root-vowel is followed by $e+l$, $e+r$, $e+n$, either case is possible: the vowel can remain short or become long. Thus *Mäkel* and *Mākel*, *gesŏtten*, Mhg. *gesŏten*, and *gebōten*, Mhg. *gebŏten*, *wĭder* and *wieder*, both Mhg. *wĭder*, *Vāter*, and dialectical *Vätter*, as well as its derivative *Vĕtter*, appear side by side. The reason of this different development has not yet been explained.

The same sound-groups which have here, under certain circumstances, preserved a short vowel, were also able to shorten an originally long one; comp. *nie* and *nimmer* from *niemer*, Mhg. *nie-mer*; *Fūtter*, *Mūtter* were formerly *Fūter*, *Mūter*, as proved by the Alemanic and Bavarian forms *Fueter*, *Mueter*; similarly, *Blätter*, *Jämmer* must have had older forms, *blâter*, *jâmer*, as testified by the widespread dialectical forms *Blōter*, *Jōmer*. In very many dialects, namely, the vowel *ô* not only corresponds to an *ô* in the older language, but it may also have developed out of long *â*. The High German *Schriftsprache* has even borrowed a number of words from those dialects which changed every *â* to *ô*; comp. *Atem* and *Odem*, *Wahn* and *Argwohn*, *Magsamen*, 'poppy-seed,' and *Mohn*; *Mond* is from Mhg. *mâne*, and *Woge* from Mhg. *wâc*.

The change called *Umlaut* takes us back to an earlier period of the history of the language than any of those noticed above. *Umlaut* is the vowel-change which we find in *Kraft—Kräfte*, *alt—älter*, *mochte—möchte*, *das Haus—die Häuser*, *der Traum—er träumt*, *fuhr—führe*. In different forms with the same stem we have on the one hand vowels of a dark colouring, *a*, *o*, *u*, on the other vowels of a light colouring, *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, and the history of the language shows that the darker vowels are the original. If we compare the Nhg. forms *Kraft* and *kräftig*, *Bauer* and *bäuerisch*, *Rom* and *römisch*, *Thor* and *thöricht*, *Rohr* and *Röhricht*, *kosten* and *köst-*

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lich, *Ruhm* and *rühmlich*, *Graf* and *Gräfin*, we may obtain some indication of the origin of this lighter colouring; we find that in each case the lighter vowel is followed by *i*. This *i* was then really the cause of the lighter colouring as early as in the Old High German time. In the first set of examples the Nhg. forms do not show an *i*, but all these words originally had *i* in their final syllables; thus *Kräfte* is in the earliest Ohg. *krafti*; *älter*, Ohg. *eltir*; *möchte*, Ohg. *mohti*; *Häuser*, Ohg. *hûsir*; *träumt*, Ohg. *troumit*; *führe*, Ohg. *fuori*. *Umlaut* may therefore be defined as the change of a vowel under the influence of *i* in a following syllable.[1]

In some cases it might appear as if the *Umlaut*, having once existed, had been lost again, as if a so-called *Rückumlaut* had taken place; *e.g.* in *brannte*, *rannte*, *nannte*, *sandte*, from *brennen*, *rennen*, *nennen*, *senden*, in *schon* and *fast*, which were originally the adverbs of *schön* and *fest* (see p. 45). But it is only apparently the case. We are accustomed to regard certain forms of the same word as the original forms, and certain others as derived from them; thus we usually regard the present tense of a verb and the singular number of a noun as the fundamental forms, and the adverb as a derivative from the adjective. This view is frequently at variance with the facts; and so in this case: *brannte*, etc., *schon*, *fast* have retained the original unchanged vowel, Ohg. *branta*, etc., *scôno*, *fasto*; whilst in *brennen*, etc., Ohg. *brannian*, etc., *schön*, Ohg. *scôni*, *fest*, Ohg. *fasti*, the vowel has changed by *Umlaut*.

The *Umlaut* of *a* and *au* are each expressed by two different signs; that of *a* by *ä* or *e*, that of *au* by *äu* or *eu*. The signs *ä*, *äu* are chosen when the connection with forms which have *a*, *au* as their stem-vowel is still felt, e.g. *Band*—*Bänder*, *Wahl*—*wählen*, *Haus*—*Häuser*, *Traum*—*träumen*; whilst *e*, *eu* are used when the connection is no longer apparent, e.g. *streng*, Ohg. *strangi*, *leugnen*, Mhg. *lôugnen*, Ohg. *louginon*. It may even happen that the connection is felt in some derivatives, but not in others from the same root; *e.g.* to *fahren* belongs *die Führte*,

[1] Examples of *Umlaut* in English are, *old*—*elder*, As. *eald*—*ieldra* (*-ra* = Got. *-iza*); *foot*—*feet*, As. *fôt*—*fêt*; *cow*—*kine*, As. *cu*—*cy*; *mouse*—*mice*, As. *mûs*—*mŷs*, etc. Though the Anglo-Saxon does not show *i* in the following syllable, yet this *i* must have existed in an earlier period of the language, comp. O. Sax. *fôti*, 'feet;' *bôci*, As. *bêc*, 'books.'

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der Fährmann, but also *der Ferge*, 'ferry-man,' and *fertig* (orig. = 'prepared for the journey,' *die Fahrt*); to *Schlacht* belongs *der Schlächter*, 'butcher,' but also *das Geschlecht*, which originally meant the same as *Schlag* (comp. *Menschenschlag*, 'race of men').

A vowel-change of a contrary kind to *Umlaut*, but yet agreeing with it fundamentally, is the so-called *Brechung*. Very frequently we meet with *e*, *ü* in some words, and *i* in others of the same stem, e.g. *gebären* and *gebiert*, *Erde* and *irden*, *Herde* and *Hirte*. Here again we see the influence of the vowel of the final syllables; these words were in Ohg. respectively *gaberan—gabirit*, *erda—irdîn*, *herta—hirti*. In each case *e* was the original sound of the stem-vowel, comp. ge-*bären* and L. *fero*, Gk. *φέρω*, and this *e* remained when the final syllable contained the vowel *a*, whilst it changed into *i* when the final syllable contained *i*. From this we may safely draw the following conclusion: if we have cognate forms like *Gebirge* and *Berg*, *Gefilde* and *Feld*, the forms *Berg*, *Feld* must originally have had *a* in their final syllable. This change of *e* to *i* took place during the common Teutonic period. Formerly an erroneous view prevailed to the effect that *i* was the original sound, and that, when *a* followed, it was 'broken' to *e*.

This 'broken' *e*, corresponding to the original Indo-European *e*, ought to be carefully distinguished from the sound which resulted by *Umlaut* from *a*. In general these two sounds are not distinguished in pronunciation; but in many dialects, *e.g.* the Swabian and Alemanic, they are pronounced differently; the sound of *Brechung -e* is broader, and approaches that of *a*, whilst *Umlaut -e* is more 'pointed,' approaching the sound of *i*, e.g. *mer gäbe* = *wir geben* (*Brechung -e*; comp. *i* in *er gibt*), but *mer hebe* = *wir heben* (*Umlaut -e*; comp. *a* in *erhaben*, the old participle of *erheben*).

The old view concerning the influence of *a* in changing the vowel of the preceding syllable, which has been shown to be false in the case of *e* and *i*, is correct as regards the change of *u* and *o*, or *ü* and *o* (old *u*, when followed by *i*, having changed during the Ohg. period to *ü*). The forms *wir wurden—geworden*, *ich würfe—geworfen*, *für—vor* were in Old High German *wurdun—gawordan*, *wurfi—gaworfan*, *furi—fora*; and the law may be put as follows: original *u* in the root-syllable remained unchanged, when the final syllable contained the vowels *i* and

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u (*i.e.* when *i* followed, *u* afterwards changed to *ü*); it was 'broken' to *o*, when the following syllable contained the vowel *a*. This change also belongs to the common Teutonic period. *Brechung* was prevented, when *u* was followed by a nasal consonant, e.g. *gefunden*, *gesungen*, Ohg. *gafundan*, *gasungan*.

Not only was *u* 'broken' when it stood alone, but also when it combined with *i* to form the diphthong *iu*. In the earlier New High German *fliegen* was conjugated *du fleugst*, *er fleugt*, but *wir fliegen*, *ihr flieget*, etc.; this corresponds to Mhg. *fliugest*, *fliuget*—*fliegen*, *flieget*, and Ohg. *fliugist*, *fliugit*—*fliogan*, *fliogat*; arithmetically expressed, it is—

iu : io :: u : o

In this change of *u*—*o*, *iu*—*io* (*ie*) we again have the means of drawing conclusions as to the former final syllables. *Fülle* beside *voll* points to an older form *fulli*, and *voll* must have lost a final *a*; similarly *siech*, comp. *Seuche*, Ohg. *siuhhi*.

An apparent case of *Brechung* is the peculiarity of Middle German dialects of changing *u* to *o* and *ü* to *ö* in certain words, where there could be no question of the influence of a following *a*. Examples are *Sommer*, Mhg. *sumer*; *Sohn*, Mhg. *sun*; *Sonne*, Mhg. *sunne*; *König*, Mhg. *künie*; *Mönch*, Mhg. *münch*.

The changes called *Umlaut* and *Brechung* contributed largely towards altering the German vowel-system. The remaining differences in the stem-vowels belong to the sphere of so-called *Ablaut*. Examples of *Ablaut* are: *Grab*—*Grube* (Mhg. *gruobe*)—*grübeln* (Ohg. *grŭbilon*); *Binde*—*Band*—*Bund*; *Sitz*—*Satzung*; *Brecher*—*Brachland*—*Bruch*; *Schneide*—*Schnitt*; *fliessen*—*Floss*—*Fluss*. This kind of vowel-change is quite independent of the nature of the following end-vowels; it was already fully developed in the pre-historic period of the Indo-European language, and affected both the Greek and Latin, e.g. *pello*—*pulsus*, *tollo*—*tuli*, *sēmen*—*sātus*; ἄγω—ἦγον, τρέπω—τρόπος, λείπω—ἔλιπον—λοιπός, φεύγω—φυγή.

The cause of the process of *Ablaut* is to be sought in the Indo-European accent. In general the strongly accented syllables have developed fuller vowels, whilst the less accented syllables had lighter and shorter vowels. In order to avoid needless repetition, we refer the student for the details of the laws of *Ablaut* to the chapter on verbal inflexions.

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If we compare German substantives and adjectives with their etymological equivalents in Latin, e.g. *Halm—calamus*, *Wind—ventus*, *Fisch—piscis*, *Haut*, Mhg. *hût—cutis*, *Joch*, Got. *juk—jugum*, *Hals—collum* (from *colsum*), *Horn—cornu*, we are struck by the want of endings of the German words. This was not their original condition; but after the Teutonic had split up into its different language stocks, there was an early tendency, before the time of the earliest literary records, to weaken the unaccented final syllables. After the dropping of the final *s* or *m*, most of the vowels were suppressed.

We saw above (see p. 18) that the transition from Old High German to Middle High German is marked by a weakening of the fuller final syllables. A similar process took place in the development of Middle High German to New High German. We may say *des Tages* or *Tags*, *dem Tage* or *Tag*, *des Werkes* or *Werks*, *dem Werke* or *Werk*, but as a rule *des Landtags*, *dem Landtag*, *des Handwerks*, *dem Handwerk*, not *Landtages* or *Landtage;* similarly, *des Königs*, *dem König*, not *Königes*, *Könige*. Again, beside *Friede*, *Heide* we have the derivatives *friedlich*, *heidnisch*, and from *nieder*, *Himmel* we have *niedrig*, *himmlisch*. In each case an original *e* has dropped away, and these words are almost always so constructed that the syllable which has the principal accent (*Hochton*) is either followed first by a syllable with the secondary accent (*Tiefton*) and then by an unaccented *e*, or first by an unaccented *e* and then by the secondary accent, thus ⌿ ⌣ *e* or ⌿ *e* ⌣. The law would therefore be as follows: *e* preceding or following the *Tiefton* is suppressed. Examples are the present participles, e.g. *lebend*, Mhg. *lebende; Lehrer*, Mhg. *lêraere; Wirtin*, Mhg. *wirtinne; Weisung*, Mhg. *wîsunge; Herzog*, Mhg. *herzoge; Häuslein*, Mhg. *hiuselin; Jüngling*, Mhg. *jungelinc*. In words of only two syllables New High German wavers between retaining and dropping this unaccented *e*, the retention or non-retention being evidently determined by the quality of the syllable which follows in the sentence.

This kind of phonetic mutilation even extends to syllables with full vowels, which originally had the *Tiefton*. Thus *Jungfer* and *Junker* are weakened forms of *Jungfrau* and *Jungherr; Nachbar* was in Mhg. *nâhbûre* = *der Bauer in der Nähe*, 'the near-dweller' (the fundamental meaning of *bauen* is 'abide'); *Schultze* is Mhg. *schultheize*, a doublet therefore of *Schultheiss;*

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in *Zweitel*, *Drittel*, the derivative syllable *-tel* is the substantive *Theil*, and in the earlier New High German we find *Urthel*, *Vorthel* beside *Urtheil*, *Vortheil*. The existence of the double forms *Urthel—Urtheil*, *Vorthel—Vortheil*, may be explained either by the fact that the second syllables have a stronger or weaker accent according to the position of the word in the sentence, or by the supposition that *Urthel*, *Vorthel* are the correct phonetic developments of *Urtheil*, *Vortheil*, and that the fuller forms were restored by analogy of the simple *Theil*. The dialects have advanced still farther in this kind of weakening, especially in Upper German; thus in Hebel we find *Arfel*, *Hampfel*, *Mumpfel* for *Armvoll*, *Handvoll*, *Mundvoll*; *Wingert* is from *Weingarten*; *Rechnig*, *Zitig* are Alemanic forms of *Rechnung*, *Zeitung*.

By far the most important consonantal changes are those which are summed up as Sound-shifting, and which were considered in the introduction (p. 14), in consequence of their important bearing upon the grouping of the German dialects. The consonant changes not comprised in the laws of sound-shifting are of less importance than the vowel changes.

According to a law which operated as early as the common Teutonic period, no other consonant than a spirant may immediately precede *t*. This explains the forms *mögen—Macht*, *pflegen—Pflicht*, *tragen—Tracht*, *geben—Gift* (this word had originally the same meaning as in English, and in *Mitgift*, 'marriage portion'), *treiben—Trift*. Forms like *klagte*, *sagte*, *liebte*, *lobte* are explained by the fact that a vowel formerly stood between the consonants *gt*, *bt* (Mhg. *klagete*, *sagete*, etc.), and that this vowel only dropped away long after the Teutonic period and when the operation of the above law had ceased.

Another law which was in operation during the earliest part of the Old High German period, before the date of the earliest literary records, was to the effect that *w* cannot stand in *Auslaut*, but changes to *u* or *o*, e.g. Ohg. *melo*, gen. *melwes*, Nhg. *Mehl*, 'flour, meal.' The final vowel afterwards became weakened to *e*, and the latter occasionally dropped away, whilst *w* changed in *Inlaut* after *l* or *r* to *b*. Thus we have in Nhg. *Mehl*, but *Milbe*, 'mite,' and Bav. *Melberei* = *Mehlhandlung*; *gar*, 'sufficiently cooked,' but *gerben*, 'tan, curry,' orig. = 'prepare.' Sometimes this *b* of the *Inlaut* was transferred to the *Auslaut*, and we obtain double

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forms, e.g. *fahl* and *falb*, 'fallow,' Mhg. *fal*, gen. *falwes*; *gelb* and the dialectical *gehl*, Mhg. *gel*, gen. *gelwes*.

In Middle High German we meet with many more similar cases, in which a consonant is different according as it stands in *Auslaut* or *Inlaut*. In New High German the majority of these differences have been removed by the process of analogy, but in isolated cases we may still observe the effects of the rules. Firstly, every media in *Inlaut* changes in Middle High German to a tenuis in *Auslaut*, *e.g.* Mhg. *tac—tages*, *sanc—sanges*, *liet—liedes*, *lop—lobes*. In New High German the consonant of the *Inlaut* has been transferred to the *Auslaut*, comp. *Tag*, *Sang*, *Lied*, *Lob*. As regards the change of *ng* and *nk*, the old state of things is still observed in Northern Germany, where they pronounce *Gesank* (*Gesang*)—*Gesanges*, *ich gink* (*ging*)—*wir gingen*. In very isolated cases the proceeding was reversed, and the consonant of the *Auslaut* was transferred to the *Inlaut*, e.g. Nhg. *das Mark—des Markes*, 'marrow,' Mhg. *marc—marges* (the original *g* is preserved in the verb *ausmergeln*, 'enervate'); *der Wert—des Wertes*, Mhg. *wert—werdes*, comp. the cognate *Würde*; *Welt*, plur. *Welten*, is in Mhg. *werlt—werlde*. In Low German territory, where *g* in *Inlaut* was pronounced as a spirant, it changed to *ch* in *Auslaut*; this explains the parallel existence of *Menge* and *manch*, *mancher* for the older forms *manech*, *maneger*, Mhg. *manec—maneger*.

Secondly, Mhg. *h* in *Inlaut* corresponds to *ch* in *Auslaut*, e.g. Mhg. *schen—sach*, *schuoch—schuohes*. In New High German the sound of the *Inlaut* has almost in every case been transferred to the *Auslaut*, as *sah*, *Schuh*. But the change has been purely preserved in Nhg. *hoch—höher—höchst*, and in part in *nah—näher—nächst* and the adverb *nach*; beside *Schmach* we find *schmähen*; *rauh—rauhes* is Mhg. *râch—râhes*, the form with *ch* still exists in *Rauchwerk*, *Rauchwaaren*, 'rough wares, furs;' the old. nom. *schuoch* = *Schuh* is preserved in the proper name *Schuchardt*, Mhg. *schuoch-worhte*, 'shoemaker.'

In German as well as in other languages we may observe a tendency to pronounce two consonants immediately following one another with the same organs of speech; by this means the articulation is considerably facilitated. The two sounds are partly or wholly assimilated to one another. In ordinary conversation the words *anbeissen*, *einbrechen* are pronounced as if

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spelled *ambeissen*, *eimbrechen;* but very frequently in studied pronunciation, and almost always in orthography, the original forms of the prefixes are restored by analogy from forms in which the particles are naturally presented in their original forms, e.g. *anhalten*, *anlaufen*, *anstossen*, *einatmen*, *einlegen*, *eintränken*, etc. The assimilation has prevailed in some cases where the etymological relations of the different parts are no longer obvious, e.g. *empfangen*, *empfinden* for *entfangen*, *entfinden;* *empfehlen* for *entfehlen*, comp. *befehlen;* *Imbiss*, 'snack,' for *Inbiss* (*einbeissen*); *Himbeere*, 'raspberry,' for *Hindbeere*, 'berry eaten by the hind;' *Homburg* for *Hohenburg*, *Schaumburg* for *Schauenburg;* *Wimper*, 'eye-lash,' for *Windbraue* = *die Braue die sich wendet, bewegt.* Complete assimilation of two sounds has taken place in *Eiland*, 'island,' for *Einland*, *ein* = 'solitary,' comp. *allein;* in *Grummet* for *Grünmahd* = *Gras welches grün gemäht wird;* in *Hoffart*, 'haughtiness,' for *Hochfahrt;* in *Leopold*, *Leupold*, for *Leutbold* = *volkskühn*, comp. *Leuthold.*

Two phenomena may be here noticed, which are met with in the early Mhg. period; firstly, *r* in *Auslaut* of a word dropped away before a consonant, and remained before a vowel, e.g. *damit*, *davon*, but *darin*, *darum;* *womit*, *wovon*, but *worin*, *warum;* *ehe* and *eher;* *hie* and *hier.* Secondly, the sound-groups *ag*, *eg* have changed under certain conditions to *ei*, as in the Upper German dialectical forms *seit* = *sagt*, *treit* = *trägt;* Nhg. *Magd* and *Maid*, *Hag* and *Hain* (comp. *Vogt* and the proper name *Voit*); *Getreide*, 'grain,' meant orig. 'that which is carried,' Mhg. *getregede*, and '*verteidigen*, 'defend,' Mhg. *vertagedingen*, is from Mhg. *tagedine* = *Gerichtstag;* *Reinhard* and the diminutive form *Reineke* are derived from *regin*, an old word meaning 'counsel.' Examples of the same change are numerous in English, e.g. *rain*, As. *regn;* *twain*, As. *twegen;* *sail*, As. *segel;* *laid*, As. *leged;* *lain*, As. *legen*, etc.

In Middle as well as in New High German we may observe that *n* and *s* in *Auslaut* of syllables frequently develop a *d* or *t*, e.g. *gelegentlich* from *gelegen*, *öffentlich* from *offen;* *entzwei*, *entlang* from Mhg. *enzwei*, *enlang* = *in zwei*, *in lang;* *Jemand*, *Niemand*, Mhg. *ieman*, *nieman* = *je* (*ein*) *Mann*, *nie* (*ein*) *Mann;* *zusammt* for *zusamment* = *zusammen;* *einst*, *mittelst*, *selbst*, Mhg. *eines*, *mittels*, *selbes*, adverbial genitives of *ein*, *Mittel*, *selb;* *Papst*, Mhg. *babes*, Gk. πάππας; *jetzt*, dialectical *jez*, Mhg. *ie ze* = *immer zu.*

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Examples of this are also common in English, e.g. *sound*, Oe. *soun; amongst*, Oe. *amonges; amidst*, Oe. *amyddes; betwixt*, Oe. *bitwix; riband*, F. *ruban; parchment*, F. *parchemin*, etc.

A change which commenced during the Mhg. period on Middle and Low German territory and afterwards extended to Upper Germany, is the gradual disappearance of *h* between two vowels, e.g. *Stahl, zehn, Bühl* (pronounced *Stâl, zên, Bül*), Mhg. *stahel, zehen, bühel.* The two short syllables were contracted into one long syllable, and the letter *h* remained in the orthography; hence this letter came to be regarded as a sign of length, and was used as such in words which did not originally have it.

To the High German, and not the Low German, territory belongs the change of older *rs* to *rsch.* To Lg. *Bars*, 'perch,' corresponds Hg. *Barsch;* and It. (Lomb.) *verza*, 'cabbage,' is found again in the German substantive *Wirsing* and *Wirsching.*

On the other hand, the assimilation of *chs* to *ss* is peculiar to Low German; thus we find in Fritz Reuter *die Ossen* for *Ochsen; Voss* for *Fuchs; wassen* for *wachsen.* The Low German, therefore, finds it necessary, when speaking High German, frequently to substitute *chs* for his own *ss* or *s;* occasionally, too, he does this in the wrong places; thus the proper name *Wasmuth* (from *was*, 'sharp,' connected with *wetzen*) has been transformed into *Wachsmuth.*

The Mhg. sound-group *tw* had a two-fold development. In High German territory it changed to *zw*, in Low German to *kw* (*qu*). Thus *quer* is found again in *Zwerchfell*, 'diaphragm,' and in the Ug. *überzwerch*, 'athwart,' Mhg. *twerch;* and *quängeln* or *quengeln* is related to *zwingen*, Mhg. *twingen.*

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(*d*) the plural takes no additional ending :

1.	**Eber**	**Eber**
	Wagen	**Wägen**
2.	**Käse**	**Käse**
3.	**Gebirge**	**Gebirge**

II. The singular remains uninflected ; this class includes all the Feminine nouns.

(*a*) the plural takes the ending *-e* :

Kraft	**Kräfte**

(*b*) the plural takes the ending *-n* or *-en* :

1.	**Klage**	**Klagen**
2.	**Saat**	**Saaten**

(*c*) the plural takes no additional ending :

Mutter	**Mütter**

III. All the cases of the singular and plural differ from the nominative singular by the addition of *-n* or *-en* to the latter ; this class comprises Masculine nouns only.

(*a*) the nominative singular ends in *-e* :

Bote	**Boten**

(*b*) the nominative singular has no ending :

Graf	**Grafen**

If we compare the above types with those of Middle High German, we may note two points of difference : firstly, the multiplicity of forms in Nhg. has developed out of a greater simplicity in Mhg. ; secondly, different types of Mhg. meet together in one and the same Nhg. type. In the above tables the types *Tag*, *Gast*, *Huhn*, *Käse*, *Gebirge*, *Kraft*, and *Bote* only agree altogether with their corresponding Mhg. types.

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A. Masculine and Neuter Substantives.

i. Vowel Stems.

(1) *o*-Stems and *i*-Stems.

der Tag **die Tage**
der Gast **die Gäste**

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.A.	tac	tac	Tag
	G.	tages (-as)	tages	Tag(e)s
	D.	tage (-a)	tage	Tag(e)
Plur.	N.A.	taga	tage	Tage
	G.	tago	tage	Tage
	D.	tagum	tagen	Tagen
Sing.	N.A.	gast	gast	Gast
	G.	gastes	gastes	Gast(e)s
	D.	gaste	gaste	Gast(e)
Plur.	N.A.	gesti	geste	Gäste
	G.	gestio	geste	Gäste
	D.	gestim	gesten	Gästen

It will be seen in the above paradigms that the Mhg. and the Nhg. forms are the same, and that the terminations are the same in both types. But in Ohg. the two types differ altogether in the formation of the plural; *gast* differs from *tac* in having *-i* in the second syllable throughout the plural, and this *-i* at once explains the *Umlaut* (*Gast—Gäste*). In the pre-Ohg. period, before the date of the earliest literary records, the two types differed also in the formation of the cases of the singular, thus:

N. *tago-s	der Tag	A. *tago-m	den Tag
*gasti-s	der Gast	*gasti-m	den Gast

Compare with these the Latin types:

N. lupu-s		A. lupu-m	
turri-s		turri-m	

Now the stems of these words were respectively *tago-*, *gasti-* (cf. *lupo-*, *turri-*), and the inflexions were *-s*, *-m*, etc. They are termed Vowel-stems: the first (*Tag*) is called *o*-stem, the second (*Gast*) *i*-stem. (The earlier forms of the accusative and dative

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plural *taga*, *tagum*, were **tagons* and *tagom*, as that of *lupus* was *lupos*.)[1]

In Mhg. the two types had become alike, except for the modification of the root-vowel in the second; hence it is conceivable that the two paradigms became mixed. In a very few cases words belonging to the class of *i*-stems lost their *Umlaut* in Nhg.; such are:—*Lachs—Lachse*, Mhg. *lahs—lehse*; *Luchs—Luchse*, Mhg. *luhs—lühse*; but, by far the majority of words belonging to the class of *o*-stems have followed the type of *Gast—Gäste*; thus *Hof—Höfe* was in Mhg. *hof—hove*, Ohg. *hof—hova*.

Some words still have double forms, as *Schachte* and *Schächte*, *Drucke*, but *Abdrücke*, *Eindrücke*; the forms without *Umlaut* are the earlier forms, which have survived side by side with the newer forms.

The earlier forms without *Umlaut* still survive in proper names, like *Adelshofen*, *Königshofen*, in which *-hofen* is the old dative plural (hence *Königshofen* = *in den Höfen des Königs*), and others ending in *-kon*, which occur frequently in the neighbourhood of the lake of Zurich, e.g. *Pfäffikon*, *Sissikon*, *Zetzikon*, in which *-ikon* is a contraction for *-ic-hofen*.

DIALECT.—The dialects have advanced still more in the direction of *Umlaut*, *e.g.* Alem. and S. Franc. *die Aerm* = *die Arme*, *die Däg* = *die Tage*.

der Eber	**die Eber**
der Wagen	**die Wägen**

The difference between this type and that of *Tag* is simply due to phonetic causes. All words with derivative endings (*er*, *el*, *en*, etc.) belong to the class of *o*-stems, and were declined in Mhg. like *tac*, thus:

Mhg.	der tac	des tages	die tage
	eber	eberes	ebere
	himel	himeles	himele
	wagen	wagenes	wagene

But, according to the law stated on p. 83, the *e* of the inflexion, following upon a syllable with a secondary accent

[1] The sounds *a* and *o* of the terminations were pronounced very much alike in Teutonic; *o* may have changed to *a* before disappearing. This would explain the *Brechung* in words like *Berg*, *Feld* (see p. 81), Teut. Nom. **bergos* or **bergas*, Acc. **feldom* or **feldam*.

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(*Tiefton*), and not upon that which had the principal accent (*Hochton*), dropped away; therefore, Mhg. *ébères*, *hímèles*, *wágènes* became Nhg. *Ebers*, *Himmels*, *Wagens*, and Mhg. *ébère*, etc., became Nhg. *Eber*, etc. In consequence of this the nominative and accusative of both numbers became alike, and it was but natural that a new means of distinguishing the plural from the singular should be adopted, where possible. This was done by *Umlaut;* hence *der Hafen*, *Hammer*, *Nagel*, *Ofen*, *Vater*, *Vogel*, etc., form their plurals in Nhg. *die Häfen*, *Hämmer*, *Nägel*, *Oefen*, *Väter*, *Vögel*, etc., in place of the Mhg. plurals *havene*, *nagele*, etc. In other words, these nouns have followed the type of *i*-stems.

Here again, we also have in Nhg. double forms for the plural (but only words ending in *en*), e.g. *die Bogen* and *die Bögen*, *die Laden* and *die Läden*, *die Wagen* and *die Wägen;* the older forms without *Umlaut* have survived side by side with the newer forms.

das Ding die Dinge

This type of neuter nouns was closely related to the type *Tag—Tage* in the older language; the only difference between the two in Mhg. was in the nominative and accusative plural, Mhg. *die tage*, but *diu dinc*, *diu kint*, *diu kleit*, *diu swert*, *diu werk*, *diu wort*, etc., without final *e*. In the Mg. dialect the type *dinc* had followed *tac* in the formation of its plural as early as the Mhg. period; from that dialect it extended to the others, so that in Nhg. all nouns of the type *Ding* take *e* in the plural, with certain exceptions, viz. neuter nouns of weight, measure, and number when used after numerals usually take no inflexion in the plural, e.g. *zwei Pfund*, *drei Mass*, *sechs Loth*, *zwölf Buch Papier*, *mit zwanzig Paar Schuhen*, *wie viel Stück*. The analogy of these neuter substantives was then followed by masculines, e.g. *vier Fuss*, *fünf Schuh*, *sieben Zoll*, and even a few feminines, e.g. *zehn Mark*, *so und so viel Last*, *drei Ohm Wein*.

The earlier Nhg. still retains traces of the old uninflected neuter nouns; compare Luther's Bible: '*Kinds Kind werden deine Werk preisen*,' '*Und seine Brüder neideten ihn, aber sein Vater behielt diese Wort*.'

das Huhn die Hühner

The termination *er*, Ohg. *ir*, was not originally a plural inflexion, but formed part of the stem of the word; it corre-

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sponds to the Indo-Eur. *es*, in Gk. γένος—γενεσ-, in which *s* changed to *r*, cf. L. *genus—gener-is*. In the earliest Ohg. the declension of a word of this type would be as follows :—

Sing. N.	kalp	Plur. N.	kalbir
G.	kalbir-es	G.	kalbir-o
D.	kalbir-e	D.	kalbir-um
A.	kalp	A.	kalbir

In the nominative singular the *s* and the preceding vowel had disappeared ; in the genitive and dative singular the *ir* would in course of time appear unnecessary. Hence, very few traces of this syllable are found even in the earliest Ohg. records ; the words *ahir*, Nhg. *Aehre*, 'ear of corn,' and *trestir*, Nhg. *Trester* (s. and pl.), 'grounds of grapes,' have it throughout, and *kalbire* appears once for the dative singular. Subsequently the declension was as follows :—

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.	kalp	kalp	Kalb
	G.	kalbes	kalbes	Kalbes
	D.	kalbe	kalbe	Kalbe
	A.	kalp	kalp	Kalb
Plur.	N.	kelbir	kelber	Kälber
	G.	kelbir-o	kelber(e)	Kälber
	D.	kelbir-um	kelber(e)n	Kälbern
	A.	kelbir	kelber	Kälber

The syllable *ir* having disappeared in the singular, it appeared as a characteristic ending of the plural, and, as such, it was transferred by analogy to the plural of words which did not originally belong to the same class.[1]

This type, Mhg. *huon—hüener*, included fewer substantives in the older language than in Nhg. ; many words which now take the ending *-er* either had no inflexion in the plural, or formed at the same time their plural without and with this ending, *e.g.* Mhg. *houbet*, Nhg. *Haupt*, plural Mhg. *diu houbet*, Nhg. *die Häupter ;* Mhg. *velt*, Nhg. *Feld*, plural Mhg. *diu velt*, Nhg. *die Felder*. Mhg. *rint*, Nhg. *Rind*, and Mhg. *hûs*, Nhg.

[1] The old genitive singular still survives in the proper name *Kälbersbach*, Ohg. *Kelbiris-bach*.

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Haus had double plural forms, *diu rint*, *diu hûs*, and *diu rinder*, *diu hiuser*, Nhg. *die Rinder*, *die Häuser*.

Some of the early forms of the plural have survived in proper names of places, e.g. *Berghaupten*, *Roshaupten*, *Degerfelden*, *Rheinfelden*, in which *-haupten*, *-felden* are old dative plurals = Nhg. *Häuptern*, *Feldern*. The old dative of the uninflected plural *hûs* still survives in the proper names *Rheinhausen*, *Schaffhausen*, *Sangershausen*.

A few substantives, as *Band*, *Ding*, *Land*, *Wort*, still form two plurals: *die Bande*, *Dinge*, *Lande*, *Worte*, and *die Bänder*, *Dinger*, *Länder*, *Wörter*. The forms with *-er* are the more usual; the forms with *-e* (which represent the old uninflected plurals) have a more archaic character, and are used in chosen and poetic language.

The type *Huhn—Hühner* has been followed in Nhg. by a small number of masculine nouns, e.g. *der Geist—die Geister*; *der Leib—die Leiber*; *der Wald—die Wälder*; *der Mann*[1]*—die Männer*.

The old dative plural Mhg. *walden* survives in the proper name *Unterwalden = unter den Wäldern*.

DIALECT.—The dialects have as usual gone in advance of High German in the formation of new forms by analogy; and so we find plurals like *die Hälser = Hälse*, *die Steiner = Steine*.

(2) *jo*-Stems.

das Gebirge die Gebirge

Ding, *Wort*, etc., belong to the class of *o*-stems. The real ending was originally *-m*; cf. Teut. nom. and acc. sing. **thingo-m*, **wordo-m*, and Lat. *verbo-m* (from **verdho-m*). As *Wort* corresponds to *verbum*, so *Gebirge* corresponds to *odium*, *exordium*, etc. The *o* of the stem was originally preceded by *i* (*j*), Teut. **gabirgio-m*, **gabirgiô*, Ohg. *daz gabirgi*, plur. *diu gabirgi*, Mhg. *daz gebirge*, plur. *diu gebirge*. Hence, this is called the class of *jo*-stems.

In Nhg. very few substantives belong to this type; all are compounded with the prefix *ge-*, as, *Gebilde*, *Gefilde*, *Gefüge*, *Gelände*, *Geschmeide*, *Gewölbe*, and as they have a collective meaning, it is of little importance to distinguish the plural from

[1] *Mann* had in Mhg. an uninflected form in the nom. and acc. plural; cf. Nhg. *hundert Mann*; in Nhg. it has a weak plural, *die Mannen* = vassals, besides the usual *Männer*.

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the singular. After the model of this type were also formed *Gelage*, beside the older form *Gelag*, and *Gestade*, Mhg. *gestat*. That they did not originally end in *i* is shown by the want of the *Umlaut*.

Many words formerly belonging to the type *Gebirge—Gebirge* have followed the model of *Ding*, since they were inflected like the latter, except in the nominative and accusative singular. The early Nhg. still had the older forms ending in *-e*, and they are even heard this day in archaic style; such are *das Glücke*, Mhg. *gelücke*, *das Gemüthe*, *Kreuze*, *Stücke*, beside the ordinary Nhg. forms *das Glück*, *Gemüth*, *Kreuz*, *Stück*. *Gemüth* now forms its plural like *Huhn*, *die Gemüther*, and in some dialects even *Stück* has followed this type, *die Stücker*.[1]

der Käse die Käse

Käse is the only masculine representative of the class of *jo*-stems in Nhg.; all the rest have gone over to other types.

ii. Consonant Stems.

(*a*) Masculines.

der Bote die Boten

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.	boto	bote	Bote
	A.	botun	boten	Boten
	G.	botin	boten	Boten
	D.	botin	boten	Boten
Plur.	N.A.D.	botun	boten	Boten
	G.	botôno	boten	Boten

It will be seen that the inflexions of the Mhg. and the Nhg. are alike, but those of the Ohg. differ considerably from them. The inflexions of the Teutonic, before the working of the *Auslautsgesetze*, will have been as follows:—

Sing. N.	*boto	G.	*botin-is	D.	*botin-i
Plur. N.	*boton-es	A.	*boton-as		

[1] In the phrase '*ein Stücker sechs*' = '*etwa sechs*,' *Stücker* is, however, not this dialectical form of the plural, but is simply a contraction for *Stück oder*, hence = '*ein Stück oder sechs*;' cf. H. Sachs, '*du hast ein Buhlschaft oder sieben*.'

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The stem ends in *-n*, hence this class is called the class of Consonantal *n*-stems ; it corresponds to the Lat. *homo—homin-is—homin-i—homin-es*, etc. The class of *n*-stems is usually termed by grammarians the Weak Declension, whilst the vowel stems are termed the Strong Declension.

der Graf die Grafen

In Nhg. the words originally belonging to the type *Bote—Boten* are divided into two classes ; under certain circumstances the *-e* of the nominative singular became mute, namely, when it followed upon the *Tiefton* or secondary accent (see the law on p. 83) : thus Mhg. *schûltheìze, steínmètze, trûhsaèze* became Nhg. *Schultheiss, Steinmetz, Truchsess.* Moreover, words employed as titles, as Mhg. *grâve, fürste, herre*, frequently stood immediately before proper names, and, in consequence of their enclitic character, lost their *Hochton*, which rested upon the following proper name, and took the *Tiefton ;* the final *e* became mute, according to the above law of accentuation ; *e.g.* Mhg. *hèrre Wâlter, gràve Heínrîch*, became Nhg. *Herr Walther, Graf Heinrich.* Thus we gain the type *Graf—Grafen*, which was also followed by other substantives, e.g. *Bär, Gesell, Held, Mensch, Narr, Ochs, Schenk, Thor* (= gate).

The number of substantives belonging to the type III. or the Weak declension is now much smaller than it was in Old High German. The sub-type III. (*b*), *Graf—Grafen*, agreed in the nominative singular with the types *Tag, Gast*, and in consequence many nouns belonging to the former followed the declension of the latter and became strong. In a number of cases the type *Tag* has been only partially followed, e.g. *der Bauer—des Bauers* and *des Bauern—die Bauern, der Nachbar—des Nachbars* and *des Nachbarn—die Nachbarn ; der März—des Märzes—dem März*, beside the archaic forms *des Märzen—dem Märzen*, which are still found in the compounds *Märzenbier, Märzenschnee, Märzenstaub.*

In other cases the change has been complete, e.g. *der Herzog—des Herzogs—die Herzöge, der Mond—des Mondes—die Monde, der Schwan—des Schwanes—die Schwäne*, Mhg. *der herzoge—des herzogen—die herzogen, der mâne, der swane*, etc. The old weak genitives have survived in compounds, e.g. *Herzogenbuchsee, Herzogenstand, Mondenschein, Schwanenhals.*

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If we compare type I. (*d*) 1 with type III., we shall see that they agree in their inflexions in all cases except the nominative and genitive singular:

Sing. N.	*Wagen*	*Bote*	Plur. N.	Wagen or Wägen	Boten
G.	*Wagens*	*Boten*	G.		
D.	Wagen	Boten	D.		
A.	Wagen	Boten	A.		

The consequence was that very many words of the type *Bote* followed the type of *Wagen;* in other words, their nominative singular took an additional *n*, and their genitive singular an additional *s*. Thus, Mhg. *der balke, der boge, der brâte, der brunne, der dâme, der garte*, gen. *des balken, des bogen*, etc., became in Nhg. *der Balken* (beam), *der Bogen* (bow), *der Braten* (roast meat), *der Brunnen* (well), *der Daumen* (thumb), *der Garten* (garden); gen. *des Balkens, des Bogens*, etc.

The older forms are found in isolated compounds, e.g. *Wildpret* or *Wildbret* = *Wildbraten;* Ug. *Wingert*, Mhg. *wîngarte*, Nhg. *Weingarten*, Engl. *vineyard*, and in the proper name *Schönbrunn*.

In a small number of words the old nominative singular ending in *-e* is still used side by side with the form in *-en*, e.g. *der Friede, Gedanke, Glaube, Name*, etc., and *der Frieden, Gedanken*, etc. The double forms *Franken* (franc), *Lumpen* (rag), *Tropfen* (drop), and *Franke* (Frank), *Lump* (ragamuffin), *Tropf* (*armer Tropf* = poor devil), Mhg. *franke, lumpe, tropfe* are noteworthy; the three former denote things, the latter living beings. We may make the more general observation, that of the masculine nouns which formerly belonged to the Weak declension, those which have taken *-n* in the nominative and *-s* in the genitive singular are all words denoting things, whilst those which have retained the old nominative forms without *-n* are almost exclusively expressions denoting persons or living beings; compare with *der Balken*, etc., *der Affe* (ape), *Ahne* (ancestor), *Bote* (messenger), *Buhle* (lover), *Bürge* (bail), *Drache* (dragon), *Erbe* (heir), *Fink* (older, *Finke* = finch), *Falke* (falcon), *Ferge* (ferryman), *Gatte* (husband), *Hase* (hare), *Jude* (Jew), etc. This different treatment of names denoting living beings and names denoting things is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the former

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are much more frequently used as subjects, and consequently in the nominative singular, than the latter. The more frequently a form is used, the more easily does it resist change by analogy.

Though so large a number of words originally belonging to type III. have followed the Strong declension a number of words have been won over from the Strong to the Weak. Some words of the type *Tag, Gast* have, beside their old plurals ending in *-e*, other plural forms in *-en*, e.g. *die Maste* and *die Masten, die Sinne* and *die Sinnen, die Stiefel* and *die Stiefeln.* Beside *die Männer* there is also *die Mannen; der Hirte* (orig. a *jo*-stem, like *Käse*, Ohg. *hirti*) now follows *Bote.* Many words of the *o* or *jo*-class joined the type *Bote* only for a time, and then went over, like Mhg. *balke, boge, brâte*, etc., to the type *Eber* or *Wagen;* thus Mhg. *der rücke—des rückes—die rücke* (a *jo*-stem, like *Käse*) became *der Rücke—des Rücken—die Rücken* afterwards *der Rücken —des Rückens—die Rücken.*

The original type is preserved in the compound words *Hundsrück, Rückkehr, rückwärts, hinterrücks,* 'from behind;' *zurück* (older *zurücke*); Mhg. *der nutze—des nutzes* is Nhg. *der Nutzen—des Nutzens.* The older form survives in the expressions *Eigennutz, sich zu Nutze machen, zu Nutz und Frommen.*

(*b*) Neuters.

das Ende die Enden

The modern German Weak declension comprises only masculine and feminine substantives; the old consonantal *n*-stems numbered words of all three genders. To the Neuters belonged Mhg. *daz herze, daz ôre* (Ohr), *daz ouge* (*Auge*); their declension coincided in part (namely, in the nominative and accusative singular and the dative plural) with the type *Gebirge*, and so also with Mhg. *daz ende, daz erbe, daz hemde;* cf.

Sing.	N.A.	*ouge*	*ende*
	G.	ougen	endes
	D.	ougen	ende
Plur.	N.A.	ougen	ende
	G.	ougen	ende
	D.	*ougen*	*enden*

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In consequence of the two paradigms agreeing in three cases, a compromise took place ; *ouge* followed the declension of *ende* in the singular, and *ende* followed *ouge* in the plural. Thus we have the Nhg. paradigm :

Sing.	N.A.	Auge	Ende
	G.	Auges	Endes
	D.	Auge	Ende
Plur.	N.A.	Augen	Enden
	G.	Augen	Enden
	D.	Augen	Enden

Herz has retained the old dative form *Herzen*, but in the genitive it has taken an additional *-s*, *des Herzens.*

B. Feminine Substantives.

die Klage die Klagen

In Nhg. the majority of feminine nouns follow the weak declension, *i.e.* they have either no termination or the ending *-e* throughout the singular, and *-en* throughout the plural ; thus :

Sing. N.A.	die	Saat	Zunge	Klage
G.	der			
D.	der			
Plur. N.A.	die	Saaten	Zungen	Klagen
G.	der			
D.	den			

Zunge and *Klage*, which are declined alike in the modern language, belonged originally to different classes ; *Zunge* was one of the class of consonantal *n*-stems, and was declined in Ohg. as follows :

Sing. N.	zunga	Plur. N.	zungûn
G.	zungûn	G.	zungôno
D.	zungûn	D.	zungôm(-ôn)
A.	zungûn	A.	zungûn

(the primitive inflexions have in nearly all cases disappeared ; *-ûn* represents the ending of the stem). *Klage* was one of the

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class of vowel *a*-stems, corresponding to Lat. *mensa*, Gr. χώρα, and was declined in Ohg. as follows:

Sing. N.A.	klaga	Plur. N.A.	klagâ
G.	klagâ	G.	klagôno
D.	klagu	D.	klagôm(-ôn)

In Mhg. the two paradigms have several cases (namely, the nominative singular, and the genitive and dative plural) alike, as the following table will show:

Sing.	N. *zunge*	*klage*
	G. zungen	klage
	D. zungen	klage
	A. zungen	klage
Plur.	N. zungen	klage
	G. *zungen*	*klagen*
	D. *zungen*	*klagen*
	A. zungen	klage

From these two paradigms a new one arose, the type *Klage—Klagen*, in which the type of *klage* was followed in the singular and that of *zunge* in the plural. It will be easily seen why the forms of *klage* instead of the forms of *zunge* were preserved in the singular; they offered the advantage that they marked the distinction between the genitive and dative singular and the corresponding cases of the plural. On the other hand, the nominative and accusative plural *klage* was given up in favour of *zungen*, since *klage* was at the same time the form of the nominative and accusative singular.

Like *Zunge*, were formerly declined *Frau*, *Erde*, *Gasse*, *Harfe*, *Heide*, *Hölle*, *Mitte*, *Mühle*, *Sonne*, etc.

Remnants of the old singular forms in *-en* are found in poetry, e.g. '*Festgemauert in der Erden*' (Schiller), '*Röslein auf der Heiden*' (Goethe); in proverbs and stereotyped phrases, e.g. '*Es ist nichts so fein gesponnen, es kommt endlich an die Sonnen*,' '*auf Erden*,' '*zu Ehren*,' '*unser lieben Frauen*,' and in compound nouns, e.g. *Erdenleben*, *Erdensohn*, *Gassenbube*, *Harfenton*, *Höllenthal*, *Mühlenbach*, *Sonnenlicht*.

The type *Klage—Klagen*, comprising as it does two older declensions, includes a large number of words; and this number

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has been added to from other parts ; thus, *die Rippe*, *die Grütze* (groats, porridge), *die Wette*, which were formerly neuter, belonging to the type *Gebirge* (*jo*-stems), Mhg. *daz rippe*,[1] *daz grütze*, *daz wette* have come over to this type.

Again, *die Grille*, *die Imme* (bee), *die Schlange* were formerly masculine, belonging to the class of *n*-stems, Mhg. *der grille*, *der imbe*, *der slange*. A few nouns belonging to this type were originally masculine plural forms, e.g. *die Schläfe* (temple), plur. *die Schläfen*, Mhg. *der slâf*, plur. *die slefe*, in Nhg. sometimes antiquated *der Schlaf ; die Socke* (sock), Mhg. *der soc ; die Tücke*, Mhg. *der tuc ; die Woge*, Mhg. *der wâc*. The reason of this change of gender and declension is to be found in the fact that the old nominative plural of these words, *die Schläfe*, etc., agreed with the singular *die Klage* in having the termination *-e*.[2] In a few other cases words have joined the type *Klage* in consequence of the agreement of their singular forms with the plural of this type ; thus *die Waffe*, plur. *die Waffen*, was originally a neuter noun, Mhg. *daz wâfen* ; cf. Luther, '*ein gute Wehr und Waffen*,' and *das Wappen*, which is simply the Lg. form of the same word.

DIALECT.—A number of nouns which have joined the type *Klage—Klagen* are retained in their original masculine gender in the dialects, *e.g.* Ug. *der Backen=die Backe*, *der Socken=die Socke*, *der Schneck =die Schnecke*, *der Trauben=die Traube*, *der Zacken=die Zacke*, and S. Franc. '*einem einen Tuck* (=Tücke) *anthun*.'

die Kraft die Kräfte

Kraft belonged originally to the class of *i*-stems, and was declined as follows :—

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.A.	kraft	kraft	Kraft
	G.	kreftî	krefte, *kraft*	Kraft
	D.	kreftî	krefte, *kraft*	Kraft
Plur.	N.A.	krefti	krefte	Kräfte
	G.	kreftio	krefte	Kräfte
	D.	kreftim (-in)	kreften	Kräften

[1] This word is still preserved in its original gender in the abusive phrase, "*das alte Ripp*" (applied to scolding wives).

[2] Compare French feminine nouns like *corne*, 'horn ;' *lèvre*, 'lip ;' *tempe*, 'temple,' from Latin neuter plural forms, *cornua*, *labra*, *tempora*.

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It will be seen that in Mhg. there were double forms for the genitive and dative singular, whilst in Ohg. there was a single form. How is the Mhg. form *kraft* to be explained? It was borrowed from another declension, that of *Nacht*, the stem of which ends in a consonant (*t*-stem), and which was declined in Ohg. as follows :—

Sing. N.A.	naht	Plur. N.A.	naht
G.	naht	G.	naht-o
D.	naht	D.	naht-un

Cf. Lat. *nox* (*nocs*)—*noct-is*—*noct-i*—*noct-em;* the Ohg. had lost all its inflexions in the singular. From this declension *kraft* borrowed its second genitive and dative forms, and in return *naht* borrowed its plural form from *kraft*, *nehte* = *krefte*, Nhg. *Nächte*, *Kräfte*. The genitive and dative singular form *kraft* subsequently triumphed over the form *krefte*, since the latter coincided with the form of the genitive plural.

Remnants of the old genitive and dative forms of the type *krefte* have survived in compound words, *e.g. Bräutigam* for *Bräutegam* (*-gam* is an old word meaning 'man') = the man or husband of the bride, Mhg. *der briute; Bürgemeister* (the earlier form of *Bürgermeister*) = *Meister der Burg;* in the proper name *Mägdesprung* = *Sprung der Magd;* in the adjective *behende* (nimble), Mhg. *bî hende* = *bei der Hand* (at hand).

Hand, however, primitively belonged, not to the class of *i*-stems, but to that of *u*-stems, and had a dative plural without *Umlaut;* this dative plural still survives in the phrases *zu Handen, von Handen gehen, abhanden kommen, vorhanden* (= *vor den Händen*). Similarly, the old dative plural of *Nacht* has survived in *Weihnachten*, Mhg. *ze den wîhen nahten*[1] = *in den heiligen Nächten.*

die Saat die Saaten

The type *Kraft* now agrees with the type *Klage* in being invariable in the singular. Some nouns belonging to the latter type, from different causes, lost the termination *-e* in the singular, e.g. *die Frau*, Mhg. *diu frouwe.* These singular forms now agreed with the type *Kraft;* the consequence was

[1] *Nahten* might, however, be looked upon as a form of the *-i* declension, *Umlaut* having been checked by the group *ht.*

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that the words belonging to the latter type formed new plurals after the model of *Frau—Frauen*, e.g. *die Burg*, pl. *die Burgen*, Mhg. pl. *die bürge; die That*, pl. *die Thaten*, Mhg. pl. *die taete; die Saat*, pl. *die Saaten*, Mhg. pl. *die saete*. There were now two singular forms, one with and the other without the ending *-e*, corresponding to the single plural form ending in *-en;* the consequence was that in the singular the type *Kraft, Burg*, and the type *Klage* became mixed; thus *die Blüthe, Eiche, Leiche, Stute* were in Mhg. *diu bluot, eich, lîch, stuot* (cf. *die Gluth*, Mhg. *diu gluot, die Zeit*, Mhg. *diu zît*).[1]

die Mutter die Mütter

This type, to which belong only *Mutter* and *Tochter*, stands quite isolated; these two words, together with others denoting relationship, *Vater, Bruder, Schwester*, formed a class of consonantal stems (*r*-stems), and primitively had the same inflexions as *Bote* (cf. Lat. *pater—pat(e)r-is—pat(e)r-i—pat(e)r-em*), which had, however, disappeared in the Ohg. period (Ohg. N.A. *fater*, G. *fater*, D. *fater*.)[2]

The masculine words *vater, bruoder* took *Umlaut* in the plural in Mhg., and were followed in later Mhg. by *muoter, tohter*, pl. *müeter, töhter*. *Schwester* could not take the Umlaut, and so formed its plural after the weak declension, *Schwestern*.

Begin for Parallel

II.—The Pronoun.

The pronouns differ from the substantives not only in the forms of their terminations, but also in more general respects.

The Personal pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons are declined as follows in Middle and New High German:—

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[1] Words like *Blüte*, etc., were probably at first genitive or dative singular forms of Mhg. *bluot*, etc., which were also used in the nominative. This would also explain double forms like *Fahrt—Fährte, Statt —Stätte*.

[2] In later Ohg. and in Mhg. *fater, vater* also followed the *o*-stems, and took *-es* in the genitive; the old uninflected form of the genitive remains in compounds, *Vaterherz*, etc.

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1st Person.

		M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.	ich	ich
	G.	mîn	mein, *meiner*
	D.	mir	mir
	A.	mich	mich
Plur.	N.	wir	wir
	G.	unser	unser, *unserer*
	D.	uns	uns
	A.	(unsich), uns	uns

2d Person.

		M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	N.	dû	du
	G.	dîn	dein, *deiner*
	D.	dir	dir
	A.	dich	dich
Plur.	N.	ir	ihr
	G.	iuwer	euer, *eurer*
	D.	iu	euch
	A.	iuch	euch

The genitive forms *mein*, *dein* have taken the additional ending *-er* in New High German, after the analogy of *unser*, *euer;* the older forms are found in poetry and isolated expressions, e.g. '*Vergiss mein nicht.*' Similarly, the lengthened forms *unserer*, *eurer* are sometimes used for *unser*, *euer*, e.g. '*Dem ist es ein löblicher Stolz, Eurer werth zu sein*,' Goethe.

In the primitive Indo-European languages there existed everywhere, besides the singular and plural, also a special form for the dual number. The substantives had lost this dual form in the earliest period of Teutonic, but the dual survived among the pronouns until after the separation of the Teutonic branch, and is found in the different dialects. Thus in the Old Saxon poem of the *Heliand* occur the forms *wit* = we two, *gît* = you two (Nom.) (which would in Old High German have been **wiz*, **iz*), *unk* = us two, *ink* = you two (Acc.) In Old High German the dual seems to have gone out of use at an early period, as only one example of a dual is found in the literary remains; but a dual form of the

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second person has been preserved to the present day in the Bavarian dialect, where it has even superseded the old form of the plural; thus Bav. *es*, *ös* = *ihr*, *euk* = *euch*.

It is characteristic of the personal pronoun—as in Greek and Latin—that the plural forms have for the most part different stems from the singular forms, thus *meiner*—*mir*, but *wir*—*unser*; *deiner*—*dir*, but *ihr*—*euer*. The development of language tends in the direction of partly removing these differences. Thus in various German dialects we meet with *mir*, *mer* for *wir*, and *dir*, *der* for *ihr*; these forms arose by transferring the initial sounds of the singular forms *meiner*—*mein*—*mich*, *du*—*deiner*—*dein*—*dich* to the plural.

It is a noteworthy fact that in German (as in English) the boundary line between the dative and the accusative of the pronouns has frequently disappeared. In the earliest periods of Low German there existed for the dative and accusative plural of the pronouns of the first and second person only one form apiece; thus *uns* = *nobis* and *uos*, *iu* = *vobis* and *vos*. The dative of the singular is *mi*, *thi*, older **mis*, **this* (= High German *mir*, *dir*; here the final *s* had changed to *r*); the accusative should be *mik*, *thik*. But this distinction vanished at an early period; in some Low German dialects *mi*, *di*, in others *mik*, *dik* are used for both the dative and accusative cases, just as there was only a single form in the plural. This want of two distinct case forms explains the frequent confusion made between *mir* and *mich* by Low Germans when speaking High German (*e.g.* by Fritz Reuter's Onkel Bräsig, and by the people of Berlin). Low German has gone still farther; after the model of the first and second persons, the dative of the third person *ihm*, *em* is used for the accusative (comp. E. *him* for As. *him* and *hine*).

The distinction between the two cases of the plural also vanished in High German. The Mhg. language still possessed double forms for the second person, Dat. *iu*, Acc. *iuch*; but in New High German the accusative *euch* has quite superseded the dative. A consequence of this is that the half-educated frequently confound the cases when using the third person plural as the mode of address, and say, e.g. '*ich habe Ihnen ja gar nicht erkannt.*'

The personal pronoun of the third person is as follows in Middle High German and New High German:—

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Singular.

		M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Masculine	N.	ër	er
	G.	(ës) sîn	sein, *seiner*
	D.	im	ihm
	A.	in	ihn
Feminine	N.	sie	sie
	G.	ir	*ihrer*
	D.	ir	ihr
	A.	sie	sie
Neuter	N.	ëz	es
	G.	(ës) sîn	sein, *seiner*
	D.	im	ihm
	A.	ëz	es

Plural.

N.A.	sie (Neut. also *siu*)	sie
G.	ir	*ihrer*
D.	in	*ihnen*

The older form of the genitive singular of the masculine and neuter, *ës*, was superseded at a very early period by the genitive of the reflexive pronoun *sîn* = *sein*. Traces of the old form are found sporadically, e.g. '*Sie haben 's kein Gewinn*,' Luther; '*ich erinnere mich 's recht gut*,' Schiller; and in the ordinary expressions *ich bin es satt, zufrieden*, etc. (for the verb *sein* can have no accusative depending upon it). The genitive *sein* has been superseded by the longer form *seiner*, and Mhg. *ir* by *ihrer*, and the dative plural Mhg. *in* by *ihnen*.

The Reflexive pronoun is as follows:—

		M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	G.	sîn	sein, seiner
	D.	(im)	sich
	A.	sich	sich
Plur.	G.	(ir)	(ihrer)
	D.	(in)	sich
	A.	sich	sich

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In Middle High German the corresponding forms of the personal pronoun had taken the place of the old genitive plural and the dative in both numbers (comp. Got. G. *seina*, D. *sis*, A. *sik* for both numbers). In New High German the accusative *sich* is used for the dative; the older dative is found in Luther: '*Und Gott schuf den Menschen ihm* (=*sich*) *zum Bilde;*' '*Unser keiner lebt ihm selber, unser keiner stirbt ihm selber.*'

The Possessive pronouns were originally, as in Latin and Greek, formed from the genitive of the personal pronouns, Mhg. *mîn* = *mein*, *dîn* = *dein*, *sîn* = *sein*, *unser* = *unser*, *iuwer* = *euer*, *ir* = *ihr*. They were declined in Middle High German after the strong adjective declension (see p. 108), with the exception of *ir*, which was invariable. From the fourteenth century it was declined like the rest. *Sîn* was originally formed from the reflexive pronoun (cf. L. *suus* from *sui*), but is in Old High German used both reflexively and non-reflexively.[1]

The Demonstrative pronouns of New High German differ from those of Middle High German chiefly in the forms of the genitive, *dessen* = Mhg. *des*, *deren* = Mhg. *der*, *derer* = Mhg. *der*, *denen* = Mhg. *den*. The shorter forms survive in *deshalb*, *deswegen*, and the proverb '*Wes Brot ich ess, des Lied ich sing.*' Similarly the genitive form of the Interrogative pronoun *wessen* has taken the place of the older form *wes;* comp. '*Wes ist das Bild und die Unterschrift?*' Luther. The later forms have arisen under the influence of dissyllabic pronouns, as *dieser*, *jener*, perhaps also under that of the adjectives.

III.—The Adjective.

The adjective is sometimes inflected, and sometimes used without any termination. The uninflected forms, e.g. *gut*, *öde*, exactly agree as to their formation with the nominatives and accusatives of the vowel substantive stems, *e.g.* with *Tag*, *Käse;* in both an original termination has fallen away, and a word like *lang* corresponds exactly with L. *longus*.

The inflected forms are again of two kinds: (1) After the

[1] *Sein* is sometimes found referring to a feminine subject, e.g. '*Sein Thor kennt jede Kuh,*' Fischart's *Gargantua*.

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definite article they have a consonantal stem, and are declined as follows :—

		M.	N.	F.
Sing.	N.	der gute	das gute	die gute
	G.	des guten		der guten
	D.	dem guten		„ „
	A.	den guten	das gute	die gute
Plur.	N.	die, G. der, D. den, A. die guten.		

The masculine inflexion corresponds exactly with the type *der Bote—des Boten—dem Boten—den Boten.* In the feminine and neuter the adjective has preserved the Old German types of the consonantal declensions, which the substantives have lost in New High German; compare with *das gute—des guten*, etc., Mhg. *daz ouge—des ougen;* and with *die gute—der guten*, etc., Mhg. *die zunge—der zungen* (see p. 100). So far there is no fundamental difference between the adjective and the substantive ; this was their original condition in the Indo-European tongue, as preserved in Greek and Latin.

(2) When not preceded by any distinct case-ending : *guter Wein—gutes Weines—gutem Weine—guten Wein*, etc. This manner of inflexion arose by immediate imitation of the pronominal declension of the third person. Compare the Ohg. paradigms of *dër* and *guoter:*

		M.	N.	F.
Sing.	N.	dër—guoter	daz—guotaz	diu—guotiu
	G.	dës—guotes		dëra—guotera
	D.	dëmu—guotemu		dëru—guoteru
	A.	dën—guoten	daz—guotaz	dia—guota
Plur.	N.	die—guote	diu—guotiu	dio—guoto
	G.	dëro—guotero		
	D.	dêm—guotêm		
	A.	die—guote	diu—guotiu	dio—guoto

The few changes which (without taking account of the weakening of all unaccented vowels to *e*) have taken place in the adjective since the Old High German time go hand in hand with those of the pronoun ; the nominative singular of the feminine *diu—guotiu*, which by the phonetic laws should be

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Nhg. *deu—guteu*, has been changed for the accusative form *die—gute*, and similarly the neuter plural *diu—guotiu* has given place to the corresponding masculine and feminine forms *die—gute*.

The pronominal inflexion of adjectives was called by Grimm the Strong declension, and the consonantal inflexion, like that of the substantive, he called the Weak declension.

Instead of *gutes Weines*, New High German has adopted the form *guten Weines* for the sake of euphony; the strong genitive survives in a small number of expressions, e.g. *gutes Muthes, gerades Weges, keinesfalls, keineswegs.*

IV.—The Verb.

The verbs were divided by Jacob Grimm into two classes: Strong and Weak verbs.

Weak verbs were so called because they form their past tense by the aid of exterior means, *i.e.* by the addition of the syllable *-te*, e.g.

lehre — lehrte

The strong verbs form their past tense by an interior change, *i.e.* by *Ablaut* or change of the stem-vowel, and without the addition of any syllable, *e.g.*

gebe — gab

Both classes of verbs form their past participle by the addition of a suffix to the stem; the weak verbs take the suffix *-t* or *-et*, the strong verbs the suffix *-en*, e.g.

gelehr-t — gegeb-en

Weak Verbs.

The weak formation—which is that of the majority of verbs—is the simpler. In the weak verbs the root-vowel does not change; the same vowel runs through the whole verb. An apparent exception is *frage—frägst—frägt*, which forms are used beside *frage—fragst—fragt;* these forms with *ä* arose through the

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influence of strong verbs such as *trage—trägst—trägt, schlage—schlägst—schlägt*, just as the preterite *frug*, which is used beside *frage*, Mhg. *frâgete*, arose through the influence of the same verbs, *trug, schlug*.

In the weak verbs a slight difference may be noted in the formation of the preterite: some verbs form this tense with the termination *-te*, others with *-ete*, thus *lehr-te, lieb-te*, but *bild-ete, fürcht-ete*; the latter ending is common to all verbs whose stems end in a dental consonant, *d* or *t*. In Middle High German we also find both endings *-te* and *-ete*, and the latter form became in New High German, by the rules of phonology, *-te* (see p. 84). But if in *bild-te, fürcht-te* we want the present stem *bild-, fürcht-* to be distinctly heard when followed by the preterite ending *-te*, nothing remains but to insert an *e*. In Middle High German the difference in termination has a different origin. In place of the present uniformity, we there find a greater variety. In Old High German three classes of weak verbs are distinguished, according to the ending of the stem:

1. ô-*stems*, e.g. salbôn
2. ê-*stems*, „ frâgên
3. i-*stems*, „ *legian
   *lêrian

(Compare the three weak conjugations in Latin *am-âre, tac-ére*, and *aud-îre*.) The first two classes formed their preterite tense as follows:

Ohg. salbôn—salbôta	Mhg. salben—salbete
„ frâgên—frâgêta	„ frâgen—frâgete

In the *i*-stems a distinction must be made between the verbs which have a short syllable in the stem, as **legian*, and those having a long syllable, as **lêrian*. The former retained the *i* of the stem in the preterite; the latter discarded the *i* in accordance with a general phonetic law of the older language, whilst in the present stem it remained longer; thus—

Ohg. *legian—legita	Mhg. legen—legete
„ *lêrian—lêrta	„ lêren—lêrte

Thus we see that the Mhg. verbs which form their preterite in *-ete* represent the two Ohg. classes of *ô*-stems and *ê*-stems and

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part of the class of *i*-stems, whilst those having *-te* in the preterite represent the remaining portion of the class of *i*-stems. In New High German the first *e* of *-ete* has vanished throughout in accordance with the phonetic law (see p. 84). In certain verbs, namely, those whose stems end in a dental sound, it has been re-inserted for the sake of euphony.[1]

Some verbs of the class of *i*-stems, which had a long stem-vowel, underwent a more radical change in consequence of the loss of *i* in the preterite. If the vowel of the stem was *a*, *o*, or *u*, the final *i* of the stem in course of time caused *Umlaut* in the present, whilst in the preterite the original vowel remained (the *i* having there vanished before its influence upon the preceding vowel commenced). Thus, *e.g.*, Ohg. **brannian—branta* became *brennen — branta*, Nhg. *brennen — brannte;* and this difference in the stem-vowel has remained in a number of weak verbs, as *nennen — nannte*, *kennen — kannte*, *rennen — rannte*, *senden—sandte*, *wenden—wandte*. In the past participles the same changes took place on the whole as in the preterite, *gebrannt*, *gekannt*, etc. In Middle High German the number of these cases of so-called *Rückumlaut* (see p. 80) was much greater than in New High German, *e.g.*

M.H.G.	N.H.G.
decken—dacte	decken—deckte
setzen—sazte	setzen—setzte
smecken—smacte	schmecken—schmeckte
beswaeren—beswârte	beschweren—beschwerte
loesen—lôste	lösen—löste
hoeren—hôrte	hören—hörte
büezen—buozte	büssen—büsste

In New High German the vowel of the present has in every case been transferred by analogy to the preterite; some adjectival participles show traces of the old state of things, e.g. *gedackte* (=*gedeckte*) *Orgelpfeifen; lieblich gedackt; getrost* is an old participle of *trösten;* in *abgeschmackt* we have an old participle of *schmecken*. *Wohlbestallt* is from the old *bestelle—bestalte—*

[1] In country dialects, in which the pronunciation is not so studied, the dental of the stem and that of the ending are usually blended, e.g. '*und das fürcht* (=*fürcht't*) *sich so*,' Auerbach; comp. *hält* for *hält't*, Ohg. *heltit*.

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bestalt; from the past forms has been formed in New High German the verb *bestallen;* similarly from the Mhg. *sich erboesen —erbôste—erbost* (Nhg. adjective *erbost*) has been newly formed *sich erbosen.* The adjectives *gelahrt, durchlaucht, erlaucht* are formations from *lehren, durchleuchten, erleuchten,* after the model of other participles which had the so-called *Rückumlaut.*

To the weak verbs belong also *bringen, denken* and *dünken* (see p. 121).

To the weak verbs belongs also *haben;* it was of the same class of verbs as *fragen,* Ohg. *habên—habêta—gehabêt,* Mhg. *hăben —hăbete—gehăbet.* There were in Middle High German, besides the forms with a short vowel *ich hăbe,* etc., contracted forms with a long vowel, *ich hân, du hâst, er hât, wir hân, ir hât, sie hânt; ich hâte,* etc. In New High German the contracted forms *du hast, er hat—ich hatte,* etc., have survived in the second and third persons singular of the present indicative and in the past tenses; but the vowels of the contracted forms have become short, whilst those of the uncontracted forms have become long, *ich hābe* but *du hăst.* In the imperfect subjunctive *haben* offers the only example of a weak verb with *Umlaut, ich hätte,* Mhg *haete.*

Strong Verbs.

Present Tense.

The strong verbs are characterised by a far greater variety of vowel-change than the weak verbs; here we find the three vowel-changes called *Umlaut, Brechung* and *Ablaut.*

In the weak verbs the stem terminated in one and the same vowel in all the forms of the present tense in Old High German, so that there could be no question of any changing influence of the terminations upon the stem. In the strong verbs, however, the final consonant of the stem-syllable was immediately followed by the different personal endings. The present indicative of the verb *tragen* was conjugated in the earliest Old High German as follows:

Sing. 1.	tragu	Plur. 1.	tragamês
2.	tragis	2.	tragat
3.	tragit	3.	tragant

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The vowels of the termination in the second and third person of the singular necessarily caused *Umlaut* of the stem-vowel, as may be seen in the following paradigms of the same verb in its subsequent stages:

	O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing. 1.	tragu	trage	trage
2.	*tregis*	*tregest*	*trägst*
3.	*tregit*	*treget*	*trägt*
Plur. 1.	tragamês	tragen	tragen
2.	traget	traget	traget
3.	tragant	tragent	tragen

This *Umlaut* is found in all the strong verbs with the exception of a few, such as *ich haue, du haust, er haut; ich komme, du kommst, er kommt*, beside the less correct forms *du kömmst, er kömmt.*[1]

In the present subjunctive no change of vowel takes place, as the vowels of the terminations were the same for all persons.

The difference in the terminations which caused the *Umlaut* in verbs was also the cause of the so-called *Brechung* (see p. 81). There is a regular change between *e* and *i*; we find *i* in those parts which have *Umlaut*, and *e* in those parts which have no *Umlaut*, among the verbs which are capable of changing by *Umlaut*; thus *du giebst, er giebt, gieb*, but *wir geben, ihr gebt, sie geben*, etc.

The following table will show the conjugation of *nehmen* in the different periods:

	O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing. 1.	nimu	nime	*nehme*
2.	nimis	nimest	nimmst
3.	nimit	nimet	nimmt
Plur. 1.	nëmamês	nëmen	nehmen
2.	nëmat	nëmet	nehmet
3.	nëmant	nëment	nehmen

Through the influence of the vowel *i* of the terminations, the original *e* of the stem syllable had changed to *i* in the second

[1] A good many of the dialects have gone still farther in removing the *Umlaut* after the analogy of the forms without *Umlaut*, e.g. *ich trage, du tragsch, er tragt* for *du trägst, er trägt; ich laufe, du laufsch, er lauft* for *du läufst, er läuft.*

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and third persons of the singular; in the first person the vowel also changed by analogy, the primitive Teutonic form having been **nemu*, **gebu*, **lesu*. In New High German the old conjugation has been restored unconsciously, again by analogy, namely, of verbs like *tragen;* after the model of *trage*, *trägst*, *trägt*, *tragen*, etc., Mhg. *nime*, *nimest*, *nime*, *nëmen*, etc., became Nhg. *nehme*, *nimmst*, *nimmt*, *nehmen*, etc.[1]

In the verbs with stems ending in a combination of a nasal with a nasal or another consonant (*mm*, *nn*, *nd*, *ng*, *nk*) there is no *Brechung;* every *e* preceding the above sound-group had already changed to *i* in pre-historic times, even when the vowel *a* followed in the next syllable, thus *ich beginne*, *du beginnst*, *er beginnt*, *wir beginnen*, etc.; *ich finde*, *du findest*, *er findet*, *wir finden*, etc.

Parallel with the change of *e* and *i* by *Brechung* is that of Mhg. *ie* and *iu*, Ohg. *io* and *iu* (see p. 82), in verbs of the *Ablaut* series *fliegen—flog—geflogen*. This verb was conjugated as follows in the present tense in the different periods:

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	1.	fliugu	fliuge	*fliege*
	2.	fliugis	fliugest	fleugst, *fliegst*
	3.	fliugit	fliuget	fleugt, *fliegt*
Plur	1.	fliogamês	fliegen	fliegen
	2.	fliogat	flieget	flieget
	3.	fliogant	fliegent	fliegen

The Nhg. forms *fliege*, *fliegst*, *fliegt* are analogy formations; the earlier forms *fleugst*, *fleugt* are still found in Luther's Bible, and occasionally in the poetry of the last century, e.g. '*wie ein Vogel dahin fleugt, der aus dem Nest getrieben wird;*' '*in ein Land, darinnen Milch und Honig fleusst* (=*fliesst*),' Luther; '*Ergeuss* (=*ergiess*) *von Neuem Du, mein Auge, Freudenthränen*,' Klopstock; '*Der König sendet mich hierher und beut* (=*bietet*) *der Priesterin Dianens Gruss und Heil*,' Goethe; '*Das wird seine Beute, Was da kreucht und fleugt* (=*kriecht und fliegt*),' Schiller.

[1] Some of the Upper German dialects still have the vowel *i* in the first person, *ich gib*, *ich lis*, *ich nimm*, etc.; whilst in other dialects of Upper and Middle Germany analogy has caused a uniformity of vowels throughout the tense, as *ich gebe*, *du gebsch*, *er gebt; du nemmsch*, *er nemmt*, etc.

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Normal grade - pres. & Supin (rarely Deplicated)
Deplicated grade - perfect (rarely reduced)
Reduced - participle

Preterite Tense.

The perfect tense of strong verbs was originally formed by two means: firstly, by Reduplication, *i.e.* by prefixing a syllable consisting of the initial sound and the vowel *e;* secondly, by so-called *Ablaut* (see p. 82). Most Greek verbs and some Latin verbs form their perfect by both means, *e.g.* Gk. τρέφω—τέτροφα, L. *pello—pepuli.* The cases in which both Reduplication and *Ablaut* are distinctly present in the same verb are very rare in Teutonic. Even in Gothic the reduplicated syllable is preserved in its purity only in a very few cases, and in the majority of these few cases the *Ablaut* is lost from phonetic causes. In Gothic *lêtan—lailôt*[1] (*let*) we see both reduplication and *Ablaut*, but the verbs *haldan—haihald* (*hold*), *haitan—haihait* (*heissen*) and *hlaupan—haihlaup* (*laufen*) have reduplication but no *Ablaut.* In consequence of contractions and other changes these perfect forms uniformly have the diphthong *ie* in Middle High German, and the vowel *î* (written *ie*) in New High German, whatever be the vowel of the present tense. The past participle, which in strong verbs is generally subject to *Ablaut* (comp. L. *pello—pulsus, vello—vulsus, sero—satus*), has in the reduplicating verbs the same vowel as the present. The following Nhg. verbs belong to this class (the Mhg. forms are usually the same as the Nhg.):—

(1) *halte—hielt*, Ohg. *hialt—gehalten;* so also *fallen, fangen, hangen, gehen,* Ohg. *gangan.*

(2) *blasen—blies*, Ohg. *blias—geblasen;* so also *braten, lassen*, Mhg. *lâzen* and *lân, rathen, schlafen.*

(3) *rufen—rief*, Ohg. *riof—gerufen.*

(4) *heissen—hiess*, Ohg. *hiaz—geheissen.*

(5) *laufen—lief*, Ohg. *liof—gelaufen;* so also *hauen, stossen.*

To the class of reduplicating verbs formerly belonged *scheiden—schied—geschieden*, Mhg. *scheiden—schiet—gescheiden*, and *bescheiden*, the old participle of which, Mhg. *bescheiden*, is now used as an adjective only. To this class also belonged *falten, salzen, spalten,* the old participles of which, *gefalten, gesalzen, gespalten,* are still used (see p. 121).

[1] The vowel of the reduplication in Gothic is always *ai*, which was pronounced as a short *ĕ;* in the stem of *haitan*, however, *ai* is a diphthong.

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By far the greater number of strong verbs no longer had any independent reduplication syllable even in the earliest period of Teutonic capable of being investigated. To make up for the loss of reduplication, however, *Ablaut* becomes more marked. The reduplicating verbs have only two different vowels in the stem; the *Ablaut* verbs, as a rule, have three; moreover, the preterite of these verbs had in the earlier periods of the language a different vowel for the singular and the plural, like Nhg. *ich ward—wir wurden.* The change of vowels in *Ablaut* is no arbitrary one; not any vowel may alternate with any other, e.g. *a* cannot appear in the same root with *ei;* only certain vowels may appear with certain others in the same stem. The vowels which stand in relation with one another in this manner are comprised together as *Ablaut* series. We give the different series in their Middle High German and New High German forms.

I. Class.—Vowel of the present stem, *a*:—

Mhg.	trage	truoc	truogen	getragen
Nhg.	trage	trug	trugen	getragen

In the second and third persons of the present tense *a* changes to *e* (*ä*) by *Umlaut*, Mhg. *trage, tregest, treget*, Nhg. *trage, trägst, trägt.*

To this class formerly belonged the verbs *heben, schwören* and *stehen,* which originally had *a* in the present stem (see below, p. 118); also *mahlen,* 'grind,' Mhg. *maln—muol—gemaln,* of which the participle *gemahlen* is still used; this verb is to be distinguished from the weak verb *malen,* 'paint,' Ohg. *mâlên.*

II. Class.—Vowel of the present stem, *e* or *i*;

(*a*) the stem-syllable ends in a double consonant:—

Mhg.	ich binde wir binden	bant	bunden	gebunden
Nhg.	ich binde wir binden	band	*banden*	gebunden
Mhg.	ich wirfe wir werfen	warf	wurfen	geworfen
Nhg.	*ich werfe* wir werfen	warf	*warfen*	geworfen

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(On the change of *e* and *i* in the present tense, and of *u* and *o* in the past participle, see p. 81.) The Mhg. form of the *Ablaut* has in no case been purely preserved in New High German; the difference in the forms of the preterite has been removed in New High German. In by far the larger number of verbs the form of the singular has prevailed, comp.

Mhg.	ich bant wir bunden	Nhg.	ich band *wir banden*

so also Mhg. *fant—funden, gelanc—gelungen, half—hulfen, spranc—sprungen* are in Nhg. *fand—fanden, gelang—gelangen, half—halfen, sprang—sprangen.* The older forms of the plural are found in the early New High German, as in Luther's Bible: '*Sie nahmen Jesum und bunden ihn,*' and the old plural of *sang* has been preserved to this day, through the influence of the rhyme, in the proverb: '*Wie die Alten sungen, so zwitschern die Jungen.*' In a smaller number of verbs the vowel of the plural has passed over to the singular, not indeed in its Mhg. form *u*, but in the Middle German form *o* (see p. 82), comp.

Mhg.	ich smalz wir smulzen, Mg. smolzen	Nhg.	*ich schmolz* wir schmolzen

so also Mhg. *glam—glummen, swal—swullen* are Nhg. *glomm—glommen, schwoll—schwollen.* In a single case *a* and *u* have survived in New High German: *ich ward* and *ich wurde—wir wurden*, Mhg. *ich wart—wir wurden;* the dissyllabic form *wurde* is to be explained by the influence of the weak preterite.

(*b*) The stem-vowel is followed by a single liquid or nasal consonant, or preceded by a combination of a mute + liquid:—

ê – a – o

Mhg.	ich nime wir nëmen	nam	nâmen	genomen
Nhg.	*ich nehme* wir nehmen	*nahm*	nahmen	genommen
Mhg.	ich spriche wir sprëchen	sprach	sprâchen	gesprochen
Nhg.	*ich spreche* wir sprechen	*sprāch*	sprāchen	gesprochen

This model was already followed in the older language by a few verbs which had no liquid consonant, *e.g. fichte—gefochten* (1)

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followed *flihte—geflohten*, and *stechen—gestochen* followed *brechen—gebrochen*, *sprechen—gesprochen*. In these again the difference between the singular and the plural of the preterite has disappeared in New High German; Mhg. *ich sprăch—wir sprâchen* is Nhg. *ich sprâch—wir sprâchen*. In a number of verbs even the difference between the preterite and the past participle has vanished, *e.g.*:—

Mhg.	schire	schar	schâren	geschoren
Nhg.	schere	*schor*	*schoren*	geschoren

Similarly Mhg. (more especially Middle German) *pflige—pflac—pflâgen—gepflogen* is Nhg. *pflege—pflog—pflogen—gepflogen*. In New High German the verbs *schwören* and *heben*, which originally belonged to the type of *tragen*, have formed their parts after the model of *scheren* and *pflegen*; comp.

Mhg.	swere	swuor	geswaren
Nhg.	schwöre	schwur or *schwor*	*geschworen*

Similarly Mhg. *hebe—huop—gehaben* is Nhg. *hebe—hub* or *hob—gehoben*. The vowel of the present stem of these verbs changed from *a* to *e* by *Umlaut*, the original forms having been * *swariu*, * *habiu*; these forms show an exterior resemblance to the present of the *i*-class of weak verbs (see p. 110). The original vowel of the participle *gehaben* has survived in the adjective *erhaben*, the old participle of *erheben*, now superseded by the form *erhoben*.

(*c*) The stem vowel *e* (*i*) is followed by a single consonant, which is neither a liquid nor a nasal, and is not preceded by a combination of these with another consonant:—

Mhg.	ich gibe wir gëben	găp	gâben	gegeben
Nhg.	*ich gebe* wir geben	*gāb*	gāben	gegeben

The difference between the singular and the plural of the preterite has again been removed in New High German; Mhg. *găp—gâben* is Nhg. *gāb—gāben*. The old quantity has been preserved in many cases in Low German; thus we find in Fritz Reuter the forms *gaww* (*gab*), *lagg* (*lag*), *satt* (*sass*). The verbs

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bewegen and *weben* formerly belonged to this class, but now follow the type of *pflegen*, *heben*, comp.

Mhg.	wibe	wap	wâben	geweben
Nhg.	webe	*wob*	*woben*	*gewoben*

So also Mhg. *bewîge—bewac—bewâgen—bewegen* is Nhg. *bewege—bewog—bewogen—bewogen*. The old participle of *weben* is preserved in some dialects, *e.g.* in the expression *gewebene Strümpfe*. To this class belong the past forms of the auxilary verb *sein*, *war—waren—gewesen*, Mhg. *was—wâren—gewesen* (see below, p. 125).

III. Class.—Vowel of the present stem, *î*:—

(*a*)	Mhg.	schrîbe	schreip	schriben	geschriben
	Nhg.	schreibe	*schrieb*	schrieben	geschrieben
(*b*)	Mhg.	dîhe	dêch	digen	gedigen
	Nhg.	gedeihe	*-dieh*	-diehen	gediehen

Pret. Sing. preserves long plural when the participle conformed to the latter.

The vowel *î* in the present stem changed to *ei* (see p. 76). In the preterite the diphthong *ei* of the singular has become lost entirely, and its place taken by the vowel of the plural and of the past participle. This class has taken up some verbs which were formerly weak, as *gleichen*, *weisen*, *preisen*, Mhg. *glîchen*, *wîsen*, *prîsen*, which are derived from the adjectives *gelîch*, *wîs* = *weis* (cf. *weis machen*) and the substantive *prîs*.

IV. Class.—Vowel of the present stem, *iu* alternating with *ie*:—

Mhg.	ich fliuge wir fliegen	flouc	flugen	geflogen
Nhg.	*ich fliege* wir fliegen	flog	flogen	geflogen
Mhg.	ich biute wir bieten	bôt	buten	geboten
Nhg.	*ich biete* wir bieten	bot	boten	geboten

The development of this series of verbs in New High German is similar to that of the preceding series; except that as in Class

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II. *a*, the singular of the preterite has taken the vowel, not of the plural (*u*), but of the Middle German form with *a*.

To this class belong also *saufen—soff*, *saugen—sog*, Mhg. *sûfen*, *sûgen*, in which the present tense differed from that of *fliuge*, etc., as early as the pre-Teutonic period, whilst the remaining forms corresponded with those of the latter verb.

The Preterite Conjunctive has *Umlaut* in the strong verbs; this *Umlaut* is easily explained by a comparison with the older forms:—

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	1.	nâmi	naeme	nähme
	2.	nâmîs	naemest	nähmest
	3.	nâmi	naeme	nähme
Plur.	1.	nâmîm	naemen	nähmen
	2.	nâmît	naemet	nähmet
	3.	nâmîn	naemen	nähmen

The *Ablaut* is that of the plural of the preterite indicative. In most cases this tense has been re-formed after the Nhg. preterite, *e.g.* Nhg. *band—bände*, Mhg. *band—bünde*; but the older form has been retained in a number of verbs, as *half—hülfe*, *stand—stünde*, *starb—stürbe*.

Grammatical Change.

Together with the changes of *Ablaut* we may observe in a number of verbs a change of consonants, e.g. *ziehen—zog—gezogen*, *leiden—litt—gelitten*. This change is due, like that of *Ablaut*, to a primitive difference in accentuation; Verner's law (see p. 7) showed that according to the position of the accent an Indo-European tenuis changed in Teutonic to a spirant or a media, viz. *k* to *h* or *g*, *t* to *th* or *d* (cf. E. *seethe—sodden*). After the second or High German Sound-shifting *th* and *d* changed respectively to *d* and *t*. The Ohg. forms show the change more completely than the modern verbs:—

Ohg.	ziuhu	zôh	zugum	gizogan
Nhg.	ziehe	*zog*	zogen	gezogen
Ohg.	snîdu	sneid	snitum	gisnitan
Nhg.	schneide	*schnitt*	schnitten	geschnitten

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The change of *d—t* is also preserved in *leiden—litt—gelitten*, *sieden—sott—gesotten*, cf. E. *seethe—sodden*. In Middle High German the verbs *schlagen* and *gedeihen* also had the change *h—g*, Mhg. *slahe—sluogen—geslagen*, *dîhe—digen—gediegen*. The old form *slahen* is preserved in the words of the song (Aennchen von Tharau), '*Und käm alles Wetter gleich auf uns zu schlahn;*' the present form *schlagen* arose through analogy of *tragen*. The old participle Mhg. *gedigen* has survived as an adjective, *gediegen*, 'pure, massive.' In the S. Franconian dialect analogy has also transformed the present stem *ziehen* into *ziege*.

Corresponding to the change of *h—g*, *d—t* is that of *s—r*, which survives in New High German *erkiese—erkor—erkoren* and *war—waren—gewesen*, Mhg. *was—waren*, cf. E. *was—were*. In Middle High German it was also found in *friuse—fruren—gefroren*, Nhg. *friere—froren—gefroren*, and in *verliuse—verluren—verloren*, Nhg. *verliere—verloren—verloren;* the *s* survives in *Friesel*, 'a kind of fever,' *Verlust*, 'loss.' The corresponding English verbs have preserved the *s* sound, *choose*, *freeze*, *lose;* the *r* survives in *forlorn*, Oe. *for-loren*.

A similar consonantal change is found in several weak verbs, which is, however, unconnected with the so-called grammatical change just described; thus, *bringen—brachte*, *denken—dachte*, in accordance with the phonetic law that only a spirant is suffered immediately to precede *t* in Teutonic. According to another law, *n* disappeared before *h*, Mhg. *bringen—brâhte*. In Mhg. *mich dünket—mich dâhte*, E. *methinks*, several analogy changes have taken place; firstly, the *Umlaut* of the present extended to the preterite, whence Nhg. *däuchte*, then a new preterite *dünkte* was formed from *dünken*. Finally, from *däuchte* was formed a new present, *däucht* or even *däuchtet*.

A number of verbs now have both strong and weak forms side by side, e.g. *salze—salzte*, but *gesalzen*. This mixture of forms was not original, it arose in different ways:—

1. Originally strong verbs have been attracted to the weak conjugation by force of analogy, comp.

Mhg.	salze	sielz	gesalzen
Nhg.	salze	*salzte*	gesalzen

Similarly Mhg. *spalte—spielt—gespalten* has become Nhg. *spalte—spaltete—gespaltet* or *gespalten*. *Falten* and *schaben*, 'scrape,'

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were also strong; from them we have the participial adjectives *gefalten* and *abgeschaben*, 'shabby, threadbare.'

2. Originally weak verbs have become strong; this is much less frequent; comp.

Mhg.	er frâget	frâgete	gefrâget
Nhg.	er fragt or *frügt*	fragte or *frug*	gefragt

frügt—frug were formed after the model of *trügt—trug*, *schlügt—schlug*. Similarly, after the model of *erschrak*, *ich steckte* has become *ich stak*; and *dingte—gedingt* changed to *dang—gedungen* under the influence of *sang—gesungen*, etc. The dialects have many other examples to show of weak verbs becoming strong; thus the past participles of *bedeuten*, *leuten* are in the southern dialects *beditte*, *gelitte*, probably after the model of *reiten—geritten*.

3. The older language possessed side by side a strong and a weak verb, which resembled each other very nearly in their present tense, and so became one in New High German. In frequent cases the strong verb had an intransitive, and the weak verb a transitive meaning. Thus from the two Mhg. verbs:—

ich erlische wir erlöschen	erlasch	erloschen = *be extinguished*
ich erlesche wir erleschen	erlaschte	erleschet = *extinguish*

became in Nhg.:

ich erlösche	erlosch	erloschen
wir erlöschen	erlöschte	erlöscht

Similarly the Mhg. pairs of verbs *erschricke—erschrak—erschrocken*, 'am frightened,' and *erschrecke—erschracte—erschrecket*, 'frighten,' are in Nhg. *erschrecke—erschrak* and *erschreckte—erschrocken* and *erschreckt*; Mhg. *swille—swal—geswollen*, 'swell,' and *swelle—swalte—geswellet*, 'cause to swell,' are Nhg. *schwelle—schwoll* and *schwellte—geschwollen* and *geschwellt*. In Middle High German both pairs of verbs contained *e* in the infinitive, in the plural of the present indicative, and in the present con-

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junctive; only in the strong verbs this *e*, which alternates with *i*, was a *Brechung*—*ë*, whilst in the weak verbs it was *Umlaut*—*e*. There was therefore a difference of pronunciation in Middle High German.

A similar confusion has taken place as regards the two verbs *laden*, 'load,' and *laden*, 'invite,' preterite *lud*, p. p. *geladen*. In the earlier New High German we also meet with the preterite *ladete*. They were originally quite distinct, without any connection whatever; comp. Ohg.

hladan	hluod	gehladan = *load*
ladôn	ladôta	giladôt = *invite*

Irregular Verbs.

Past-present Verbs.

These verbs, *ich muss, ich kann, ich darf, ich mag, ich soll, ich weiss* offer a remarkable mixture of strong and weak forms. It strikes one at once that these verbs have not, like other verbs, an inflexional termination in the first and third persons of the present tense. This want of termination is only met with in the preterites of the strong verbs, and therein lies the solution of the problem; these six verbs which are used with a present meaning were originally preterites, and are therefore termed Praeterito-praesentia or Past-present verbs. This phenomenon of the present tense of a verb becoming lost, and its perfect remaining with a present signification, is met with in Latin and Greek, comp. *coepi*, 'I begin,' *novi*, 'I know,' *odi*, 'I hate;' *οἶδα*, 'I know.' To the Greek *οἶδα* the German *weiss* exactly corresponds. In these verbs the change of meaning noticed in the Introduction (see p. 62), the confounding of cause and effect, has taken place; *weiss* probably signified originally 'I have seen,' and we may suppose it to have had a present tense **wîze*, and to have been conjugated like Class III.; thus

*wîze	weiz	wizzun	giwizzan

Weiss offers the only New High German example of the old preterite form of that *Ablaut* series, for Mhg. *meit, reit, schreip, treip*, etc., have been replaced by the analogy forms *mied, ritt, schrieb*,

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trieb, etc. Similarly *ich muss*, Mhg. *muoz*, belongs to the type Mhg. *trage—truoc—getragen;* and for *ich kann, darf, mag, soll* (Ohg. *skal*, E. *shall*) we might suppose old present stems **kinnan*, **derfan*, **megan*, **skelan*, conjugated after the types II. *b* and II. *c*. After the original perfect forms had quite lost their relations to past time, there arose a new system of forms, corresponding to the preterites of weak verbs, to designate the past time.

Wollen.

The verb *wollen* was originally a conjunctive (optat.) with an indicative meaning, Goth. *viljau;* the forms of the singular of the present indicative in Old High German still partially resemble conjunctive forms, but in the plural they resemble the forms of the weak verb:

		O.H.G.	M.H.G.	N.H.G.
Sing.	1.	willu	wil	will
	2.	wili	wilt	willst
	3.	wili	wil	will
Plur.	1.	wellemes	wellen	wollen
	2.	wellet	wellet	wollet
	3.	wellent	wellent	wollen

From this verb a new weak preterite was formed in the same manner as from the past-present verbs, Ohg. *wolta*, Mhg. *wolte*, *wolde*, Nhg. *wollte;* and a new conjunctive, Ohg. *welle*, Mhg. *welle*, Nhg. *wolle*.

Anomalous Verbs.

1. In the two verbs *gehen* and *stehen*, not only two different kinds of
2. inflexion, but also two different stems are blended. The present tense had in the older language double forms, Mhg. *gên, gân; stên, stân;* from the second forms with *â* come the Low German *gahn, stahn* and the modern Upper German *goh, stoh*. The preterite of *gehen, gieng* is formed as if from a present stem *gangen* (cf. *fangen—fieng*); this present stem did actually exist, and is still preserved in some dialectical forms. This verb belongs to the reduplicating class. The preterite of *stên* was in Middle High German *stuont*, formed from a present stem *standen*

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Subjunctive was an optative in Indo-European

(cf. *trage—truoc*), which still survives in dialect. But the preterite, Nhg. *ich stund—wir stunden*, is only now used in antiquated style. This changed to *ich stand—wir stunden*, after the model of the type *bant—bunden* (Class II. *a*); when in the latter type the singular and the plural were made alike, *stand—stunden* also became *stand—standen*. On Low German territory analogy has worked in a different direction: after the model of *stân—stunt* was formed *gân—gung* and *fangen—fung*, as we may read in Fritz Reuter.

Another anomalous verb is *thun—that*, the changes in which are of a different character. The preterite of Ohg. *tuon* was *teta;* here the first syllable *te* was really a reduplication, whilst *ta* was the stem, which probably at first had the same form as the present stem. The change in the vowel arose simply from the circumstance that in the preterite the stem was not accented, and thus became weakened. Ohg. *teta* is Mhg. *tete* and Nhg. *thät*, a form which is antiquated and found in *Volkslied* and some of the poets, e.g. '*das ich zum Kränzchen pflanzen thät*,' Bürger; '*aus der Tiefe thät ihn mahnen ein wunderbarer Gesang*,' Uhland. The plural of *teta* was Ohg. *tâtun*, a form which is difficult to be explained, Nhg. *thaten;* after this form was formed a new singular, Nhg. *that*.

3.

Sein.

Not fewer than three different roots have combined to form the paradigm of the auxiliary verb *sein*: (*a*) *bin, bist* are of the same root as the Latin *fui, fore, futurum;* (*b*) a root *es*, which is found in Latin *est, eram* for *esam*, and German *ist*, and a shorter form of the same root *s*, in *sei, sind*, cf. Lat. *sim, sunt;* (*c*) finally a root *wes*, which is not represented in the Latin verb. To this root belongs the preterite Mhg. *was—wâren*, cf. E. *was—were*, Nhg. *war—waren* (the old form of the preterite is preserved in the words of the song, '*so dir geschenkt ein Röslein was, so thu es in ein Wasserglas*'); also the old infinitive Mhg. *wesen* (cf. Nhg. *verwesen*, 'decay'), now used as a substantive only, and the old participles *abwesend, anwesend*, now used as adjectives only. In *sie sind*, Mhg. *sint*, we have the only New High German verb which has preserved the old termination of the third person plural, comp. L. *sun—t, aman—t;* this termination has even been transferred to the first person, *wir sind*, Mhg. *sîn*.

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Past Participle.

The prefix *ge-* did not originally belong to the participle, comp. Got. *binda* = *ich binde*—pp. *bundans* = *gebunden*. In Old High German the participle appears sometimes with and sometimes without the prefix; in Middle High German, and especially in New High German, the prefix becomes the rule. Even in New High German it is frequently found without the prefix, e.g. '*es ist das Heil uns kommen* (= *gekommen*) *her*,' Luther; '*das Werk zuletzt is doch vollendet blieben* (= *geblieben*),' Goethe; '*wie seid ihr so jung geblieben, und ich bin worden* (= *geworden*) *so alt*,' Uhland; we now say *ich bin alt geworden*, but *ich bin geschlagen worden*; *gezeugt* but *bezeugt*. What is the origin of the prefix? There was in the old language a large number of verbs, which beside their simple forms had also compound forms with the prefix *ge-*, like the modern pairs *bieten—gebieten*, *brauchen—gebrauchen*, *leiten—geleiten*. The difference in meaning between the simple and the compound word was hardly more than a difference of degree; the prefix *ge* was a strengthening particle, and denoted the completion of the action. The compound form, as may well be imagined, was used especially in the past participle, and thus the syllable *ge* by degrees appeared as a characteristic feature of that form. A large number of verbs have remained free from this prefix, *i.e.* those verbs which are already compounded with an inseparable prefix. The reason of this is obvious; as it was contrary to the laws of euphony to join one such prefix to another, verbs like *gebeleben*, *geverstehen*, *gezerreissen* could not be formed, and could consequently not form any participles *gebelebt*, etc. Of simple verbs few participles without *ge-* have survived beside *worden*; beside *geschaffen* we find *rechtschaffen*, 'honest, upright;' beside *getrunken* the adjective *trunken*, 'drunk;' in the expressions *ich habe ihn kommen lassen*, 'I have ordered him to come;' *wer hat dich gehen heissen?* 'who has commanded you to go?' *er hat nicht schlafen können*, 'he has not been able to sleep,' etc.; *lassen*, *heissen*, *können* are all participles without *ge*, but appear to us as infinitives. By reason of this, other infinitives have come to be used in a similar manner, by analogy, e.g. *ich habe ihm arbeiten helfen*, 'I have helped him to work;' *er hat dich tanzen lehren*, 'he has taught thee to dance.'

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CHAPTER V.

SYNTAX OF NEW HIGH GERMAN.

SYNTAX, if we leave out of account the question of the arrangement of words and sentences, is essentially only a branch of the science of change of meaning. Whether a preposition is followed by one or the other case, depends upon the meaning of those cases; whether certain verbs take an indicative or conjunctive in the dependent clause, depends upon the general differences of meaning between the two forms of the verb; the reason why the German says *eine fromme Frau* and not *eine frommer Frau* is that he has been accustomed to associate with the nominative *frommer* the conception of a male being. The meaning of the different forms of a word changes with its different terminations; hence the greater part of what appears in ordinary school-grammars as syntax may be called the science of the meaning of inflexional syllables, whilst our former chapter on change of meaning (see Introduction) dealt in every case with the changes of meaning of the stem-syllable.

But some of those changes in the meaning of the stem-syllable also come within the sphere of syntax: namely, all the changes in consequence of which a word steps out of the class, to which, according to the system of the grammarians, it originally belonged, into another. When an adjective becomes a substantive, e.g. *Fürst*, 'prince,' which was originally the superlative of *vor* and meant the same as its English equivalent *first*, a similar change of meaning takes place as when *Korn*, E. *corn*, meaning any kind of grain, is used in the sense of a particular kind. The process by which the substantive *Mann* became an indefinite pronoun *man* = 'one' (compare the French *on* from L. *homo*) is the same as that by which the meaning of *scheinen*, 'shine,' became weakened to that of 'seem.'

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I. Classes of Words.

The most primitive classes of words are Substantives and Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns, Verbs; none of these four classes can, in the present state of our knowledge, be traced back to another.

Substantives and Adjectives form one class; every substantive at first designates only a single quality ascribed to an object, *e.g.* L. *fluvius*, meaning originally 'that which flows' (from *fluo*), and new substantives are continually being formed from adjectives. The reverse case, that of substantives becoming adjectives, is much more rare; in the few examples which New High German offers, e.g. *angst*, *feind*, *leid*, *noth*, *schade*, *schuld*, their substantive origin may be clearly recognised in the fact that they cannot be used attributively and have no comparative.

Between the classes of the verb on the one hand and the three remaining classes there seem to be no transitions. But there are several Pronouns which have come over from a different class, *e.g.* the above-mentioned *man* from the substantive *Mann*; similarly *jemand* and *niemand* are compounds of the same word and the adverbs *je* and *nie*, Mhg. *ie-man*, *nie-man* (comp. the L. *nemo* from *ne* and *homo*, and the E. *nobody*); *jeglicher* was originally a compound of *je* and the adjective *gleich*, Mhg. *ie-gelîch*; and in the early New High German we find the adverb *sô* frequently used as a relative pronoun, e.g. '*Bittet für die, so Euch beleidigen und verfolgen*' in Luther's Bible.

Amongst the class of Pronouns not all kinds are equally primitive. The interrogatives *welcher*, *wer*, *was* have in colloquial speech, beside their interrogative function, also an indefinite signification = 'some, somebody, something' (= *etwelcher*, *etwas*), like the Greek τίς and the L. *quis*, which also possessed both meanings. The interrogative use was doubtless not the more primitive; if we say to a person '*du suchst etwas*' we show a desire to know the object of his search, and the sentence may be taken as equivalent to an interrogation.

Like the interrogative pronouns the Relative pronouns were not original, but derived from another class of words. As

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persons in their every-day talk use only independent sentences in their ordinary conversation, so all subordination of clauses was preceded by co-ordination; all words which now serve the purpose of connecting subordinate sentences must originally have had different functions. Among these connectives the relative pronoun *der*, *die*, *das* was originally purely demonstrative. A sentence like *es war der, der gepredigt hat* would have been in Old High German *iz was, der bredigota* (*es war, der predigte*); in an earlier period of the language the form of the sentence must have been *es war der—er hat gepredigt*, and in a still earlier period, when the pronoun *er* before the verb was superfluous, *das war der—hat gepredigt*, Ohg. *iz was der—bredigota*. Here the pronoun stood originally at the end of the first clause, not at the beginning of the second. When afterwards it became necessary specially to designate the subject of the verb, *der* came to be regarded as belonging to the following verb; and a sentence like *das ist der Mensch, der mich geschlagen hat* was previously *das ist der Mensch, der hat mich geschlagen*. Here the relative belonged from the beginning to the clause in which we now find it, and we have consequently to suppose a twofold origin of the relative *der*. The relatives *wer*, *was*, *welcher* developed out of the interrogative pronouns, though in a somewhat different manner, during the New High German period.

The Adverbs are, so far as we can know their origin, for the most part stereotyped case-forms; in them are frequently preserved old meanings of cases which no longer live in the nouns or pronouns themselves. Thus in *einst*, Mhg. *eines*, genitive of *ein*, we find a genitive of manner; similarly in *flux* or *flugs*, 'quickly,' the genitive of *Flug*, meaning 'in flight;' and in *mittelst*, for *mittels*, 'by means of,' the genitive of *Mittel*. A Dative plural is contained in *allenthalben* for earlier *allen halben*, 'on all sides,' from the Ohg. substantive *halba*, 'side;' and in *weiland*, 'formerly,' originally *wîlen*, dative plural of *wîle*, Nhg. *Weile*, 'time' (comp. the E. dialectical *whiles*). An old accusative case is contained in *je* and *nie*, Ohg. *io*, *nio* = *ni-io*; *io* or the earlier form *eo* corresponds to a Gothic *aiw*, the accusative singular of *aiws*, 'time' (comp. Gk. αἰών, L. *aevum*). The adverb *nicht*, Ohg. *niowiht*, is compounded of *nio* and the nominative or accusative of *wiht*, 'thing.' The old substantive character of *nicht* is still apparent in the phrases '*hier ist seines*

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Bleibens nicht;' '*Wünsche dir nicht seiner feinen Speisen*' (Luther), where *nicht* has a partitive genitive depending upon it (comp. the E. *nought* and *not*, As. *nâ-wiht*, and the L. *ni-hilum*, *nihil*).

The Prepositions are closely connected with the adverbs. Numerous examples are still found in German of both prepositional and adverbial meanings being united in the same word; compare *durch—hindurch—durchgegangen*, *um—darum—umgefallen*, *wider—dawider—widerreden*, etc. Historical observation shows that in each of these cases the adverbial meaning was the original. In former ages, in fact, language needed no prepositions; the cases sufficed to express the most various relations (comp. the expression *den ganzen Tag = the whole day*, where duration of time is expressed by the simple accusative case). A transition stage between adverb and preposition is found in expressions like *den Tag über*, *die Nacht durch*. Of many prepositions we may still clearly follow the formation from other classes of words within the most recent periods; the preposition *zu* was in the ninth century exclusively an adverb; *kraft*, *laut*, *wegen* have formed since the Middle High German period from the dative combinations *in Kraft* (comp. Lessing '*in Kraft allein des Rings*'), *nach Laut*, *von—Wegen*, dative plural of *Weg* (comp. the old expressions *von Rechts wegen*, *von Amts wegen*).

In their turn prepositions in conjunction with certain case-forms have helped to form adverbs; *entlang*, *entzwei* are compounds of *in lang*, *in zwei*; *neben*, 'beside,' of *in eben*, orig. = 'on a level with;' *überall*, 'everywhere,' is the same as *über alles*; *sintemal*, 'since, whereas,' is compounded of *sint dem mal = seit dem Mal*, 'since that time.'

Conjunctions, like prepositions, are a class of words, the need of which has only gradually arisen in the life of language. In common speech little use is made of these means; the same may be said of the language of poetry and emotion, which by a kind of *atavism* approach as it were an earlier state of nature. Thus in Old High German *sie stand und weinte* could be expressed by *stuont weinota* (*stand weinte*).

The Conjunctions used in Co-ordination can be traced to pronouns or adverbs. Their function is either to indicate a sentence to come or to refer back to a preceding one. Several conjunctions may be used for both purposes, e.g. *so*, which was

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originally an adverb; if we say *so ist die Sache vor sich gegangen*, 'thus the affair happened,' the account in question may have gone before, or may follow. The pronouns *der*, *dieser*, *jener* are of a like nature; they originally indicated something which could be literally pointed at (demonstrative); now they can be used to indicate something gone before or to come in speech. Some conjunctions may point in both directions, backwards or forwards, namely, those particles which, while conceding something, at the same time hint at an objection or restriction. They are all words which originally indicated acquiescence or confirmation, e.g. *gewiss*, *allerdings*, *ja*, *wohl*, *freilich* (comp. *ja freilich*), *zwar*, Mhg. *ze wâre*, 'in truth.' The conjunctions *entweder* and *weder* point to something to come; *entweder* is Mhg. *eintweder*, 'one of two, either,' comp. *er wollte entweder siegen oder sterben*, which was properly *er wollte eins von beiden—siegen oder sterben*. *Weder* is the Mhg. *ne-weder*, meaning originally 'neither of two,' comp. *weder heiss noch kalt*, which meant originally *keins von beiden—heiss noch kalt*. The pronoun *er*, *sie*, *es* refers only to something gone before; it has, in fact, only a conjunctional force in German, except when it stands for a pronoun of the first or second person (see p. 55). *Aber* and *sondern* are adverbs which point backwards; *aber* meant originally 'again,' comp. *aber und aber*, *abermals*, 'again.' From being reiterative it became contradictory; if a person repeats the action of another, or replies after another has spoken, it is often in order to contradict. The connection may be observed in *entgegnen*, 'reply' (comp. E. *again*, *against*, and *gainsay*), and *Wortwechsel*, 'dispute,' lit. 'exchange of words.' *Sondern* is connected with *besonders* (comp. E. *asunder*), and means 'excepted.' These particles were originally not purely contradictory; they rather admit that a statement is partly true, after denying that it is wholly true; comp. the expressions '*nur das ist richtig*' and '*das aber ist richtig*,' which mean about the same thing.

From these co-ordinative conjunctions proceeded a great part of the Subordinative conjunctions. The conjunction *dass*, '*that*,' originally formed part not of the subordinate but of the principal clause. The sentence *ich weiss, dass er lebt* was originally *ich weiss das—er lebt; ich wünsche, dass er komme* was originally *ich wünsche das—er komme*. The conjunction *ehe* stood from the beginning in the subordinate clause, as an adverb referring

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backwards, at least in so far as it followed upon a principal clause which was negative; the sentence *ich kehre nicht heim, ehe ich ihn finde* was at first *ich kehre nicht heim—ehe* (= *vorher*, 'first') *finde ich ihn.* When the principal clause is positive, the case is different. In the older language it is followed by the conjunctive mood in the subordinate clause; the words of Christ to Peter would stand as follows: '*du lougenst mîn, ê danne der han kraeje* (*du verleugnest mich, ehe denn der Hahn krähe*).' In the co-ordinative form the sentence would run as follows: *du verleugnest mich vorher, dann wird* (or *dann mag*) *der Hahn krähen.* We have seen above that the relative pronoun may also be supposed to have had a double origin. In order to understand how these and similar independent clauses became transformed into subordinate clauses, we must consider that the arrangement of the words as we now find them in the subordinate sentence was formerly also possible in the principal clause.

Certain conjunctions require not a double but at least a threefold independent clause in order to understand their development. The sentence '*da Herodes sah, dass er betrogen war, ward er zornig*' would formerly have stood as follows in the co-ordinative form: *da sah Herodes, dass er betrogen war; er ward zornig,* and the adverb *da* at the head of the first clause referred back to something which had gone before. The causal *nun,* 'now that, since,' may be explained in the same manner; comp. *nun dem so ist, so wollen wir,* etc., 'since that is so, we will,' etc., which was originally '*nun ist dem so; so wollen wir,*' etc., and this *nun* must necessarily have been preceded by some assertion. The conjunctions *seit, indem, nachdem* arose in like manner, the last two only during the New High German period.

One class of conjunctions never served to join co-ordinate clauses; in fact they have in themselves no connective force, but obtained this force only through the accidental circumstance of standing at the head of a clause which afterwards developed into a subordinate clause. To this class of connectives belong those pronouns which introduce a subordinate interrogative clause. The sentence *er fragt, was vorgeht* developed out of *er fragt: was geht vor?* Of the same kind is the conjunction *ob,* which in the older language not only introduced interrogative clauses, but also had the meaning 'if.' Both are founded upon the same idea, and *ob* was probably once an adverb with the

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meaning of *vielleicht*, *etwa*, 'perhaps, perchance,' comp. '*wenn du Gott bist* (Mhg. *obe du got bist*), *so sage es uns*,' which could even now be turned *vielleicht bist du Gott; so sage es uns*, and this is obviously almost equivalent to *sage uns, ob du Gott bist.* In *obgleich*, *obschon*, *obwohl*, on the other hand, the concessive meaning did not develop immediately out of that of the adverb, but out of the conditional meaning of *ob;* the same change is found in *auch wenn*, *wenn auch*, *wenn gleich*, *wenn schon.*

The conjunction *geschweige dass* stands isolated; *geschweige* was originally a complete sentence, *i.e.* the first person singular of the obsolete verb *geschweigen*, 'be silent,' and the conjunction was equivalent to *ich geschweige davon, dass.*

The youngest of all the classes of words is the Article. In the Indo-European epoch it had no existence; the Gothic language knows a definite but no indefinite article; the latter first appears in Old High German. The definite article developed out of the connective pronoun *der, die, das. Der Mann* meant originally 'that man,' *i.e.* the man just spoken of or about to be mentioned; only gradually it came to be used to indicate something already known. The indefinite article arose from the numeral *ein*, or, more correctly speaking, is identical with it, for there is no essential difference in the meaning of the two. One characteristic feature, however, the article has developed which the numeral does not possess: it implies that the object indicated by the article stands in no kind of connection with what has gone before, and by reason of this feature it might be called the contrary of a conjunction.

The Interjection is usually placed last among the classes of words by the grammarians. In respect to their signification, however, the interjections are not words but whole sentences: if we utter an exclamation of pain, such as 'Oh!' we mean as much as if we said 'how painful!' or, 'you are hurting me.' Thus the interjections may be placed, with regard to their meaning, on a line with those cases in which we use single words for complete sentences, the remainder of the sentence being easily supplied by the mind of the hearer, e.g. *endlich!* 'at last!' *still!* 'silence!' *traun!* 'faith!' (Mhg. *triuwen* = *in Treuen*, 'in truth'), *ja*, *nein. Ja* probably meant originally 'that (is so).' Comp. Provençal *oc*, 'yes,' from L. *hoc. Nein* is from Ohg. *ni ein* = *nicht eines.*

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II. The Meaning of Inflexional Forms.

a. The Noun.

The Indo-European language possessed, besides a Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative (and Vocative), also an Ablative, like Latin, a Locative, and an Instrumental case. The Ablative and Locative cases were the first to perish in the common Teutonic period, and their functions had to be taken over by the remaining cases. The Instrumental case was unknown in Gothic, but survived in the earlier stages of the West-Teutonic languages, though only in the singular. When this case was lost the surviving cases were still more burdened. The Accusative has remained free from mixture; the Genitive has perhaps adopted a small part of the Ablative function; the Dative is the great reservoir into which meanings of the most diverse kinds have flowed together. In '*einem etwas geben*' we find a real old Dative; after the prepositions *aus*, *von* the Dative represents the old Ablative; *auf*, *bei*, *in* originally were followed by the Locative, and *mit* by the Instrumental.

But whilst being thus enriched in their meanings, certain cases have also suffered numerous losses, more especially the Dative and Accusative. The Dative, or the cases which it superseded, and the Accusative were able in the Indo-European language to express certain local relations without assistance from other words. In course of time, when the meanings of the cases became more and more manifold, local adverbs were added, in order more distinctly to emphasise the different functions, and these adverbs developed into prepositions (see p. 130). In the epoch in which we first meet with monuments of the German language, this process was almost concluded; the Instrumental was almost alone in being able for a time to dispense with prepositions. Thus in the 'Heliand,' an old Saxon poem of the early part of the ninth century, we find the expressions *frostu bifangan*, 'encompassed by the frost,' *thurstu endi hungru bithwungan*, 'subdued by thirst and hunger.' Isolated cases are found of the Accusative used in a similar way, *e.g.* Mhg. *er fuor walt unde berc*, 'he went through forest and mountain.' During the later periods, in which the

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development of the language may be followed in the literary works, the Genitive is the case which suffered most losses. Thus the Genitive of Manner has become lost; only a few traces of it remain in adverbial expressions (see p. 129). Such expressions as '*gebet dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist, und Gott, was Gottes ist*' are no longer used, but must be turned *was dem Kaiser, was Gott zukommt, gehört;* this Genitive is now only found in a few phrases like *du bist des Todes*, 'you are a dead man.' Another relic of an older and freer use of the Genitive is seen in *sich Rats erholen*, 'take counsel;' this construction is more frequent in poetry, e.g. '*es schenkte der Böhme des perlenden Weins.*' This Genitive is still used with verbs like *ermangeln, erwähnen, geniessen*, but it has an antiquated ring, and the Accusative is preferred. Again, the Mhg. *ein glas wazzers, ein stücke brôtes* is in Nhg. *ein Glas Wasser, ein Stück Brot.* In the two last mentioned cases the syntactical change may be accounted for by a formal change. The Nhg. pronoun *es* (Gen. *sein*) was in Mhg. *ez*, of which the Genitive was *es*, as in Mhg. *ich bin es sat, ich bin es müede.* (Similarly *etwas gutes, nichts gutes* contain an old Genitive—Mhg. *etewaz guotes, niht schoenes;* the Nominative and Accusative were Mhg. *guotez, schoenez.*) At the end of the Middle High German period this final *z* was pronounced as *s*. These Genitives were not to be distinguished from the corresponding Accusatives and Nominatives, and were ultimately conceived as one or the other of these two cases. Thus, *es geniessen*, in which *es* was taken for an Accusative case, became the model for *das Glück geniessen*, and *etwas gutes* for *etwas Brot, ein Stück Brot*, etc.

In the German dialects of to-day the Genitive has almost entirely perished. The principal remnant of it is formed by apparent plurals, such as *Pfarrers* or *'s Pfarrers, Müllers* or *'s Müllers*, i.e. the family of the *Pfarrer*, 'parson,' or of the *Müller*, 'miller;' by apparent adjectives, as in the expressions *Münchner Kindl*, 'a native of Munich,' *Wiener Würste*, 'Vienna sausages.' Here we have Genitive plural forms of personal names, *das Kindl der Münchener, die Würste der Wiener.* These combinations date from an earlier period, in which it was still possible to place a Genitive without an article before the substantive accompanying. The Genitive is now replaced by two constructions:

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(*a*) By the preposition *von* with the Dative—comp. '*vom Menschelebe soll der dornig Freudebaum ein Abbild sy*' (Hebel) = *der dornige Freudebaum soll ein Abbild des Menschenlebens sein.* This construction, which appears already in Old High German, probably had its origin in the Partitive Genitive. *Er izzet des brôtes* and *er izzet von dem brôte* were used indiscriminately, and as they were regarded as equivalent, the Ablative construction with *von* took the place of the Genitive when there could be no question of an activity to proceed from.

(*b*) By a kind of Possessive Dative, as *meinem Vater sein Haus.* This is a real old Dative, and originally stood, not with the substantive, but with the verb. Instead of *meines Vaters Haus hat er gekauft* one could say *meinem Vater hat er sein Haus abgekauft*, or, with a slightly different arrangement of words, *er hat meinem Vater sein Haus abgekauft.* In the latter sentence the Dative is mentally connected closely with the following substantive, through unconscious association with the expression *meines Vaters Haus.* After the model of this sentence one then said, *er hat meinem Vater sein Haus gekauft*, in which the Dative cannot be brought into connection with the verb.

In Low German we may observe a slight tendency to do away with the Dative also; in its place appears *an* with the Accusative. This is not uncommon in Dutch, and is the rule in the Romance languages (comp. Fr. *à* from Lat. *ad*). Thus in Fritz Reuter we find the sentence '*an Lowise kunn sei von ehren Fund nicks nich seggen*' = *der Luise konnte sie von ihrem Fund nichts sagen.*

If we consider the terminations of the noun only with respect to their case meanings, the substantive and adjective show no difference. The terminations of the adjective, besides corresponding to the different cases, possess a particular shade of meaning which is foreign to the substantive. The adjective has double terminations, the so-called strong and the weak (or consonant) terminations, and besides an uninflected form, *i.e.* properly a form which has lost its inflexional termination (see p. 107). The weak endings have a definite meaning, *i.e.* they attribute the quality to a definite individual, and therefore stand after the definite article and definite pronouns. The strong inflexion, on the other hand, indicates qualities of something indefinite, and is joined to the indefinite article and

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the like. The uninflected form is neuter, and can have both meanings; it is now only used predicatively. This was, however, not always the case; the uninflected form could once be used attributively. It could be placed after the substantive, as in *Röslein rot*, still used in old poetic style; or between the article and substantive, as in Mhg. *ein guot kint*, *daz wilt swîn* (*das wilde Schwein*). The latter construction explains the existence of the numerous compound words, of which the first member is an adjective, e.g. *Gelbschnabel*, *Grünspecht*, *Rundkopf*, *Wildschwein*, etc.

Not only the uninflected forms were used attributively in Old German, but the strong forms of the adjective could also be used predicatively, *e.g.* Mhg. *daz glas ist vollez = das Glas ist voll*, and attributively when following the substantive, *e.g.* Mhg. *ein glas vollez wazzers = ein Glas voll Wasser*. Here we have a key to the strange Nhg. expression, as *eine Schüssel voller Kirschen;* this *voller* was originally the nominative singular of the masculine, and was correct in *ein Tisch voller Kirschen = plenus cerisiarum*. When this position of the inflected adjective was no longer possible, *voller* was taken to be a genitive, and it is now used after substantives of all genders, singular or plural. The old nominatives *halber* and *selber*, now used almost adverbially, are to be explained in a similar manner.

b. The Verb.

The most important feature about the different forms of the verb is the signification of the Tenses and Moods. In the verb as in the noun we may observe the phenomenon that extension and restriction of meaning constantly go side by side.

The Indo-European tongue possessed not less than four or five different tense-forms, viz. Present, Future, (Imperfect,) Aorist, Perfect. In place of this wealth the Teutonic had and has only two simple forms, the Present and a Preterite. In the earliest German period the Present form united in itself the meanings of the present and future, but it could not as now be used in narrative. In Old High German, however, the need was felt of more particularly indicating the Future; for this purpose the verb *sollen* was used, and joined to the Infinitive, Ohg. *ich scal* (*soll*) *lesan = ich werde lesen*, comp. E. *I shall read*. An action

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was declared to be impending by a desire being expressed that it should occur; the cause is put for the usual effect (see p. 62). At the end of the Middle High German period another periphrastic form appears, which has somewhat of a Future character, i.e. *werden*, with the participle, e.g. *er wirt sehende* (*er wird sehend*), an analogous expression to *er wird alt*. From this and similar constructions arose the present mode of forming the future tense. Not, however, by dropping the participial ending; but rather it had become customary in other cases to use the participle and infinitive as equivalent to one another: *er gât suochende* (*er geht suchend*), *er kumt bitende* (*er kommt bittend*) meant about the same thing as *er gât suochen*, 'he goes to seek;' *er kumt biten*, 'he comes to beg.' It is thus conceivable how the infinitive replaced the participle after *werden*, *er wird sehen* for *er wirt sehende*.

The development of a new form for the Future having somewhat relieved the Present tense-form, the latter became more capable of taking over new functions; and so we find that since the fifteenth century it has been used as a Past tense in order to lend more vividness to the narrative.

The German Preterite, which in its form corresponds to the Indo-European Perfect (see p. 115), takes in the earliest period the place of the Indo-European Imperfect, Aorist, and Perfect. But from the Old High German period it began to lose the particular meaning which originally belonged to it; the Present perfect, or the completion of an action, was rendered by combinations of *sein* or *haben* with the past participle. The periphrastic form with *sein* is sufficiently clear; *ich bin gekommen* is equivalent to *ich bin ein gekommener*, 'I am one (who is) come.' The different combinations with *haben* are not all of equal origin. They could at first be formed only of verbs, which were capable of being used in the passive, e.g. '*er hat ihn gefunden*,' which meant 'he has (or possesses) him found,' the cause of the possession being usually the previous action of finding. Thus *er hat gefunden* could be regarded as equivalent to *er fand;* after this model was afterwards formed with a neuter verb, *er hat geschlafen* besides *er schlief*.

In the modern German dialects the use of the Preterite has become still more restricted. On the entire Upper German territory the Preterite is used only in the Conjunctive mood; in the Indi-

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cative mood it has been replaced by periphrastic forms with *haben* or *sein*. The beginning of this development coincides with the time in which the historical Present was first used in German, the second half of the fifteenth century.

The different tense-forms may be used without distinction in the principal or dependent clauses. With respect to the moods, however, the case is different in the present state of things. All subordination originally goes back to a co-ordination, and so one might think that there could be no difference in the meaning of the moods in the principal and the dependent clause. This is contradicted by the facts. In the first place, one or the other mode of use has disappeared in the principal which still survives in the dependent clause. Secondly, a certain mood can and could, under certain circumstances, be used in the dependent clause in cases in which it could never have been used in the principal clause; by the power of analogy a Conjunctive, for example, came to be used as a sign of formal dependence, where the meaning of the sentence in itself would require an Indicative.

German possesses, if we leave out of account the Imperative, which is properly an interjection, and the Infinitive and Participle, which are nouns, only two moods, the Indicative and Conjunctive. The latter formally corresponds to the Greek Optative; *er grabe* is Gothic *grabai* = Gk. γράφοι; but it unites the meanings of the Greek Conjunctive and Optative. The Indo-European Optative again having a double meaning, a wishing and a presuming, we might say that the German Conjunctive has a threefold task. But the wishing function of the Optative is closely related to the Imperative force of the Conjunctive, and may be considered together with the latter, the more so as they cannot be strictly separated in German. In clear distinction from them stands the presuming force of the Optative.

The Conjunctive of command and desire can be used both in independent clauses, e.g. *er gehe*, 'let him go;' *käme er doch*, 'O that he would come!' and in dependent clauses. In the dependent clause it stands especially after verbs of desire and command, e.g. *ich befehle, dass er gehe*. Here the Conjunctive was absolutely necessary from the beginning. Now the Indicative is frequently used, especially if the sentence is in the pre-

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sent, e.g. *ich wünsche, dass er geht* (but only, *er wünschte, dass er ginge*). The Indicative is here due to analogy of constructions like *ich höre, sehe, weiss, dass er kommt.* The subordination in *ich wünsche, dass er gehe* may be explained by an original co-ordination *ich wünsche das—er gehe*, as we have seen when considering the conjunctions (see p. 131).

In Conditional sentences, in which the conjunction is omitted, e.g. *käme er, er wäre willkommen*, 'if he came, he would be welcome,' the Conjunctive may be explained as having had originally an imperative or optative force, comp. *käme er (doch)! er wäre willkommen*, 'O that he would come! he would be welcome.' We have shown, when we were considering the conjunctions, that conditional sentences are closely related to concessive, so that the sentence '*sei dem auch so, ich bleibe dabei*,' 'though that be so, I stand by my assertion,' may have stood originally for '*sei dem auch so! ich bleibe dabei*,' 'let that be so!' etc.

If we examine the above examples we cannot but remark on the slight difference which exists between the signification of the Present conjunctive and that of the Past conjunctive. We should expect the former to contain a distinct reference to present time, and the latter to the past. But it appears that neither in Indo-European nor in Teutonic did a real temporal difference exist between the Conjunctive (or Optative) of the Present and the same form of the Perfect.

With respect to the Potential Optative, the presumptive force now only appears distinctly in one use, namely, the hypothetical assertion. Here the Past conjunctive alone is used, with a distinct reference to the present, both in the principal and in the dependent clause, e.g. *ich könnte es thun*, 'I could (might) do it;' *ich weiss, dass er es thun könnte*, 'I know that he could do it (if he would).' By a peculiar transference this hypothetical conjunctive is occasionally used, even when no condition is implied; when, for example, persons have reached a certain point of their journey, they remark '*da wären wir*,' 'here we are.' The unexpressed thought seems to be somewhat as follows: *da sind wir; es wäre schön, wenn wir schon weiter wären.* At the moment when the fact (of having reached the point in question) is being stated, the mind thinks of the following conditional clause, and the assertion of the fact assumes the hypothetical form.

The potential Present Conjunctive continues now only in the

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secondary clause, *i.e.* in the dependent assertion (oblique oration) and in the indirect question, e.g. *er glaubt, dass es heiss sei*, 'he thinks it is hot;' *er fragt, ob es heiss sei*, 'he asks whether it is hot,' which point to an older construction, *er glaubt, es ist wohl heiss; er fragt: ist es vielleicht heiss?* In the earliest period of German *er sei* even in an independent sentence could stand for *er ist wohl.* In the *oratio obliqua* this Present conjunctive alternates with the Preterite Conjunctive without there being any general difference in the meaning of the two forms. In High German the Present Conjunctive is preferred on the whole; the Preterite is, however, always used when the Present Conjunctive is not to be distinguished from the corresponding Indicative tense-form, as in the forms of the plural; thus, we say *er sagt* (or *sagte*), *sie hätten das Fieber*, 'he says (said) that they have (had) the fever,' but we say *er sagt* (or *sagte*), *er habe das Fieber*, or more rarely *er hätte das Fieber.*

In the dialects this uncertainty is removed; the Low German and the Middle German dialects, as well as the South Franconian, the East Franconian and Austrian have chosen the Preterite Conjunctive, whilst the Alemanian and Bavarian dialects use only the Present Conjunctive.

These deviations and waverings were preceded by a fixed rule, coinciding with the so-called Consecution of Tenses in Latin; in Old German the Present tense in the principal clause was followed by the Present in the dependent clause, and the Preterite by a Preterite, e.g. *er waenet, ez sî = er wähnt, es sei*, 'he thinks it is so,' but *er wânte, ez waere = er wähnte, es wäre*, 'he thought it was so.'

In order to comprehend this rule we must consider the manner in which dependent speech in general arose. The *oratio obliqua* is foreign to the simple language of the people. They repeat the words of another as if the observations contained in them were being made by themselves; thus when Paris declared in the *Iliad*, '*ich will alle die Schätze zurückgeben, die ich aus Argos mitgebracht*,' 'I will return all the treasures which I brought from Argos,' the message, as delivered to the Achæans, would be as follows: '*Priamos gebot, den Ausspruch des Paris euch zu verkünden; er will alles zurückgeben, was er mitgebracht hat aus Argos.*' If then we take a sentence as *er bringt Botschaft, der Kaiser sei tot* (Mhg. *er bringet maere, daz der keiser tôt sî*), it must

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in an earlier period have stood *er bringt Botschaft; der Kaiser ist tot*, or if the sentence is put in past time: *er brachte Botschaft; der Kaiser war tot.* If the purport of the message was clothed in the presumptive form, the Present Indicative was replaced by the potential Optative form, which, as we have seen, could formerly stand in the independent sentence. And after the model of *er bringet maere, er sî tôt*, the Conjunctive was also used in the preterite form of the sentence; *er brâhte maere, er was tôt* changed to *er brâhte maere, er waere tôt.*

It may be observed in passing that the above origin of the *oratio obliqua* also explains the remarkable fact that the personal pronoun of the direct speech is changed in the indirect speech. Thus *er wusste: 'ich bin krank'* becomes in indirect speech *er wusste, er waere krank;* for this goes back to a simple sentence consisting of two independent clauses *er wusste es, er war krank*, for which we might even substitute the reversed order, *er war krank; er wusste es.*

The Old German rule of the Consecution of Tenses prevailed till the fifteenth century. When the Present came to be employed as a narrative or historical tense, usage began to waver. From a formal point of view, this tense should have been followed by a Present; but its meaning demanded a Preterite in the dependent clause. From the narrative Present this wavering passed over to the ordinary Present, and from the narrative *present* to the narrative *preterite.*

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The formation of proper nouns is a process of specialization or restriction. —

CHAPTER VI.

PROPER NAMES.

FROM a theoretical point of view the Proper names should not require to be treated in a separate chapter, for every proper name was formerly an ordinary noun, substantive or adjective, and is consequently subject to the same laws of formation and change as the noun. The transition from a common noun to a proper name is nothing but a restriction of application or meaning, such as takes place in all changes of meaning (see above, p. 57). But practically proper names have so many peculiarities, which for the most part are closely connected with their nature as such, that it will be advisable to consider them separately.

I. PERSONAL NAMES.

The present custom, according to which every person has at least two names—a 'Christian' name and a surname—is a comparatively recent one. The old Germans, as a rule, possessed only a single name. This name was formed in a particular way—it was always compounded of two parts. This was also the case with Greek names, and dates, without doubt, from the Indo-European times. With this name the child was endowed with all the qualities which man was expected to possess, or which adorned woman. Thus, *Albert* or *Albrecht*, Ohg. *Adalbreht*, was = *der Adelsglänzende*, 'nobility-bright;' *Gerbert* = *der Speerglänzende*, 'spear-bright;' *Eckehart*, from *Ecke*, '*edge* of the sword,' and *hart*, 'firm;' *Friedrich*, from *Friede*, 'peace,' and *rîch*, 'mighty;' *Gottschall*, from *Gott* and *schalk*, 'servant;' *Notburga*, from *Not*, 'distress, *need*,' and *burg*, 'shelter;' *Sigelinde*, from *sige*, 'victory,' and *lint*, 'serpent;' *Gertrud*, from *ger*, 'spear,' and *trût* = *vertraut*, 'familiar.'

One is apt to become enthusiastic over the force and the

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poetical ring of these old German names. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the old Germans themselves were, or could be, conscious of the poetry of all or even the greater part of these names. In many cases the words which formed the constituents of proper names had already perished in the living language, and consequently no meaning could be attached to them. The old Germans of historical times knew no more than we do what was the meaning of the first part of *Ingeborg* or *Ingraban;* they were quite ignorant of the fact that the names *Anselm* (= *Ans-helm*), *Ansgar*, *Oswald* (= *Answald*), contained as their first part the word *ans* = 'god' (comp. the *Asir* of Norse mythology). On the whole, however, the Teutons strove to attach a certain degree of meaning to their names, for names of which both parts had become unintelligible are rare, and the obscure words are much less frequently found in the second part of the compound than in the first. The second part in proper names, as in all compound words, is the one which bears the principal meaning.

It might happen, too, that both stems of which proper names were compounded still formed part of the living language, but that their meaning was obscured by assimilation, weakening of vowels, and other changes taking place in the compounds which did not affect the simple words themselves. Thus the names, Ohg. *Liupolt*, *Liutold*, Mod. German, *Leopold*, *Leuthold*, were no longer felt to be compounded of *liut* (= people), *bald*, E. *bold*, and *liut-wald* = *volkswaltend*. Even when both components of a name were etymologically clear, the result might be an unintelligible whole, unintelligible even to modern scholars, e.g. *Wolfram*, Ohg. *Wolfraban* = wolf-raven, which offers no satisfactory sense, or *Hildegunde*, both parts of which denoted 'battle.' *Rutland* = *Roland* was literally 'renown-land,' and *Kunigund* = 'race-battle.' These names are in themselves not devoid of logical sense; but how should a man have been named 'land of renown,' or a woman 'battle of the races'? The explanation is to be found partly in the circumstance already mentioned, that frequently the single members of the compound name had become obscure. This gave rise to a feeling that it was not necessary for names to be quite transparent, but that it sufficed if newly formed names contained the ingredients of old-established ones. We may add another circum-

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stance. The custom no doubt prevailed to a large extent of forming a child's name of a part of the father's and a part of the mother's name; thus *Hildegunde* might have been the daughter of *Hildebrand*, 'battle-sword,' and *Gundrun* (= *Gudrun*), 'battle-magician.' This custom was evidently based on the idea that a connection between things is best expressed by agreement of sounds. (In a Middle High German tale a maiden named *Engeltrât*, who has two suitors, *Engelhard* and *Dietrich*, prefers the former on the ground that his name harmonised better with her own.)

The Old German names had one disadvantage—that of being too long and inconvenient for everyday use, and therefore suffered considerable alterations. As nowadays *Charlotte*, *Elise*, *Johannes*, *Nikolaus* are abbreviated to *Lotte*, *Lise*, *Hans*, *Klaus*, by retaining the syllables which have the highest pitch, and are almost alone heard when shouted aloud, so also the Old German names had to suffer abbreviations. The shortened forms (pet names) arose in two ways:

(1) One of the two components—in almost every case the second—was quite dropped; the abbreviated form ended in *o* or *i*, e.g. *Ingo* for *Ingraban*, *Kuno* for *Kuonrat*, *Folko* for *Volcwart*. If the first part of the name was itself a derivative noun, the suffix could be dropped in the pet form, *e.g.* from *Eberhard* was formed *Ebaro* or *Ebo*, from *Irminrich* (= *Ermenrich*), *Irmino* or *Irmo*, from *Raginbald*, *Ragano* or *Rago*. The termination *i* is still in living use, especially in Alemanic, where *Konrad*, *Rudolf* (Ohg. *hruot-wolf*, 'fame-wolf'), *Walther* (= *Waltend-Heer*) have the pet forms *Kuoni*, *Ruodi*, *Wälti*. We are able to assert that *Walther* is abbreviated into *Wälti*, but we cannot say with equal certainty that *Wälti* is in every case the short form for *Walther*, for it is evident that the same pet form may have been used for different names; thus *Gero* might be the abbreviation of *Gerbert* (= 'spear-bright'), *Gerhard* (= 'spear-strong'), *Gernot* ('spear-need'), *Gerwig* ('spear-battle'), or *Gerwin* ('spear-friend'), etc.

(2) The initial sound of the second part of the compound is included in the abbreviated form; this formation produces fewer ambiguous forms. Thus *Sigbert*, *Sigbald* are abbreviated to *Sibo* (for *Sigbo*), New High German *Seib*; from *Sigfried* we have *Siffo* (for *Sigfo*), from *Sigimar*, 'victory-famed,' and *Sigimund*, 'victory-hand,' *Simo* (for *Sigmo*).

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From names thus abbreviated we have a variety of derivative forms, which probably all originally had a diminutive meaning. The suffixes *-in*, *-ilo* are spread over the whole German territory, the suffix *-iko* belongs more especially to Low German territory, *-izo*, *-zo* to Upper German. Double derivative forms are also met with in *-ilîn*, *-ikîn*, *-liko*, *-zilo*, *-ziko*, *-zilîn*. Thus the simple abbreviation of names compounded with *diet*, Olg. *diot* = 'folk,' is *Dioto*. From this we find various derivative forms, e.g. *Diotin*, *Diotila* (whence the present names *Diedel*, *Thilo*, *Tilly*, *Till*), *Diotiko* (found in the modern names *Tiedge*, *Tieck*, *Deeke*), *Diozo* (whence *Dietze*, *Diez*), *Diotilîn*, *Diotikîn*, *Diozilo*, *Diozikо*, *Diozilîn*. A few abbreviations of this nature are still common beside the full names, as *Fritz* beside *Friedrich*, *Heintz* and *Heinrich*, *Kuntz* and *Konrad*, *Utz* and *Ulrich*.

To this Old German stock of names was added, after the introduction of Christianity, an abundance of foreign names, partly Hebrew, partly Greek, and partly Latin. Of these names similar abbreviations and diminutives were formed as from the Teutonic names; thus *Nikolaus* appears as *Nickel* and as *Klaus*, *Johannes* as *Johann*, *John*, *Jan*, *Hannes*, *Hans*, and *Hansel*, *Jakob* as *Jack*, *Jäggi*, *Jock*, *Jockel*, *Kob*, *Köbel*, and *Köbi*. In Bâle *Beppi* stands for *Johann Jakob*.

Until Middle High German times it was customary throughout Germany to be satisfied with one name. The origin of the present system of double names is immediately connected with the development of the freedom of the cities, the rise of commerce and the consequent increase of deeds of sale and contract among the citizens. They are first found in the towns, and from them penetrated slowly into the country districts. In the towns of Southern Germany and on the Rhine double names began to be used as early as the twelfth century, whilst in Middle and North Germany they do not appear until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In many parts of the country the serfs had no second name until the sixteenth century; the Frisians and the Jews did not generally adopt them until officially compelled to do so in the last and the present centuries.

For the first of the two names (personal names) the old German or foreign names continued to be used; the second names (surnames) were formed in a variety of ways. In one

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respect the latter form a contrast to the former. The individual names were for the most part bestowed upon children by their own people; the more modern surnames were more especially created by strangers. Within the family the need of any other than the baptismal name is seldom felt.

The chief characteristic of family names is that they are handed down from one generation to another. This inheritance has not indeed always been as regular as we are apt to imagine; even in quite recent times examples may be shown of families having changed their names.

The manner in which names came to be inherited may be best understood from those names taken from residence, which, being fixed, continued as the cause of the name-giving for many generations. In some districts, *e.g.* in the Black Forest, it may be observed even to this day that the tenants or proprietors of a farm continue to take their name from the same, even when they change. As regards the form of family names, we may distinguish three modes of formation. Firstly, the name of the place is preceded by a preposition, e.g. *Amthor* (= *an dem Thor*), *Aus'm Wörth* (*aus dem Wörth* or *Wert*, 'island'), *Imhof* (= *in dem Hof*), *Thorbeke* (Lg. *to der beke* = Hg. *am Bach*, comp. E. *beck*), *Ueberweg* (= *über Weg*), *von der Tann*, *Zumbusch* (= *zu dem Busch*). Secondly, a derivative in *-er* is formed from the name of the place; of this kind are the numerous names ending in *-bacher*, *-hauser*, *-häuser*, *-hofer*, *-röder*, *-reiter*, *-reuter* (the three last named from *roden* or *reuten*, E. *root*, hence places which have been cleared for cultivation), etc. Thirdly, the name of the locality may have lost any outward sign of having been applied to a person, e.g. *Berg*, *Busch*, *Stein*, *Strauch*, *Steinthal*, *Amerbach*, *Öllendorf*.

According to their origin, these classes of family names are as numerous as are the different kinds of local names. One class of names may be easily mistaken. As nowadays inns and occasionally apothecaries' shops have signs, after which they are named, so in the Middle Ages it was the general custom—a custom still prevailing to a large extent in Switzerland—to name dwelling-houses after their signs. These signs might be animals, plants, or any other objects. Thus the inventor of the art of printing took his name *Gensfleisch* from the sign upon his house. A man of the name of *Drach* or *Ochs* would not be

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so called on account of any peculiarity of disposition, but probably because he was born in a house 'at the sign of the dragon' or 'ox.'

Another cause of names being handed down from one generation to another was given when they were taken from trade or occupation, for these were inherited with great regularity from father to son. To this class belong the most common of the family names, e.g. *Meier* from Lat. *major*, 'steward of an estate,' *Müller*, *Schmidt*, *Schneider*, *Schultze*, Mhg. *schult-heize*. Many old industries and occupations, which have themselves died out, survive only in names of this kind, as *Armbruster*, 'maker of cross-bows;' *Bogner*, 'bow-maker;' *Falkner*, 'falconer;' *Plattner*, 'maker of *Harnischplatten*, i.e. breastplates,' *Pfeilsticker*, 'maker of arrow-sticks.'

What was the origin of family names like *Bischoff*, *Herzog*, *Kaiser*, *König*, etc.? They may in part have been taken from house-signs; or they may have originated in the dramatic plays and processions, which formed a favourite popular amusement in the Middle Ages. A person who habitually acted the part of a prince, emperor, or pope on such occasions would be known by that title amongst his neighbours.

We should expect the principle of inheritance to have prevailed in such cases where the father's name was added to the baptismal name of the son. In former times, however, the son was frequently named after his grandfather instead of his father, so that the same name occurred only in every second generation. In order to explain the regular inheritance of this and the following classes of names we must assume them to have followed the model of the classes already discussed.

All the numerous old individual names may occur as family names. Sometimes the word *Sohn*, '*son*,' was added to the father's name; this manner of forming surnames prevailed especially in Low German territory (comp. English and Scandinavian), as *Mathisson*, 'the son of *Matthias*;' *Andresen*, *Hansen*, or *Jansen*, 'the son of *Andreas*, *Hans*, or *Jan*.' Sometimes the father's name was put in the genitive, e.g. *Ebers*, 'the son of *Eber* or *Ebor*,' an abbreviation of *Eberhard*; *Helmholz*, formed by folk-etymology from *Helmoldes*, *Helmolds*, 'son of *Helmwald*;' *Wilken*, '*son of Wilke*,' Ohg. *Williko*, a pet form of *Wilhelm*.

The most common method is the simple addition of the

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father's name to the baptismal name, e.g. *Robert Franz, Friedrich Friedrich, Hermann Paul*, etc. A fourth kind of patronymic formation might be mentioned, viz. derivatives in *-ing* or *-ung*, e.g. *die Karolinger*, 'the descendants of *Karl*;' *die Wölsungen*, 'descendants of *Wölse*.' But it is difficult to determine how far this manner of formation was active at the time when double names began to be used, *i.e.* whether a *Hartung* or *Henning* was so named because he was the son of *Harto* (abbreviation of *Hartmut* or *Hartwig*) or *Henno* (= *Heinrich*), or because his father, who had only one name, was already called *Hartung* or *Henning*.

We find isolated cases of the mother's name being inherited. These names were perhaps given to posthumous sons. Thus *Hilgard* occurs as a family name, and *Lieske* may be the remote descendant of an *Elisabet*.

Of family names given on account of some quality of the mind or body it is conceivable that their inheritance would in individual cases follow as a matter of course; for especially physical peculiarities are occasionally transferred to one's descendants. But in general names of this kind, no doubt, became finally fixed after the model of the other categories.

The manner in which names of qualities are given to persons differs in no wise from the manner in which things in general are named from their characteristics; nearly all the different kinds of metaphors which appear in the latter are possible also in the former.

The classes of names already mentioned have in common that they rest upon some quality, etc., actually present. The great mass of names were thus formed, and for a good reason; the majority of names were not chosen by the persons bearing them, but bestowed by others, and such bestowal would have no meaning unless the name helped us to recognise the persons by indicating some prominent peculiarity. But when a person is in a position to choose a name for himself, the absence of this cause may give rise to the creation of what may be called fancy names. Such was the case at the time when the Jews were compelled to adopt family names; hence they gave themselves names taken from imaginary places, as *Blumenthal, Löwenthal, Rosenthal*, or from some precious or brilliant object chosen at will, as *Bernstein*, 'amber,' *Goldmark, Goldstein, Rubinstein, Saphir*, etc.

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The number of roots from which proper names can be formed causes a sufficient variety in the latter, and this variety is increased by other circumstances. In the first place by dialectical differences; names have a different development in different localities, and different words are used in different dialects for the same thing: thus *Hafner*, *Pötter*, *Töpper*, denote the same profession, E. *Potter*, similarly *Binder*, *Böttcher*, *Büttner*, *Fasser*, *Küfer*, *Scheffler*, E. *Cooper*. In the second place by the peculiar position which proper names occupy in language. We have seen (see p. 42) that not every sound of a spoken word is heard, but only a part of it, the remainder being supplied by the consciousness of the hearer. Now proper names always appear, irrespective of their different cases, in exactly the same function; they cannot combine into groups, nor have they any etymological support; still less is it possible to guess the form of a name by the context of the sentence. Thus, on the one hand, the correct understanding and consequently the correct reproduction of a proper name is very difficult, and, on the other hand, these names are greatly exposed to folk-etymological corruption and arbitrary distortion.

It follows from the above that the contrary of the formerly prevalent idea that proper names are more conservative in their development than other words is true. It is true that in names like *Bruno*, *Hugo*, *Otto* the Old High German full final syllables are still pronounced, whilst in other words they have long changed to *e*, or dropped off altogether. But these old names have been artificially preserved through Latin documents; the true popular and phonetically developed forms of those names are *Braun(e)*, *Hauck*, *Ott(e)*, which now only appear as family names.

Transformations of proper names are sometimes made consciously, as when the Humanists translated their names into Latin or Greek, e.g. *Regiomontanus* (Johann Müller v. *Konigsberg*), or when names are concealed under anagrams, *e.g.* the author of the *Simplicissimus*, Hans Christoph von Grimmelshausen, who produced a number of pseudonyms out of his own name, *Samuel Greifnson von Hirschfeld*, *German Schleifheim von Sulsfort*, *Israel Fromschmidt von Hugenfels*.

After what has been said it is possible that the most various names may have sprung from one and the same root. But on

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the other hand it is conceivable that names of a very different kind and origin have met together in one and the same form. A frequent case is that of names which may be, or which appear to be, of quite modern formation, from some substantive or adjective, whilst they are more probably to be explained as abbreviations of old names. Thus the name *Rot* might be quite modern, bestowed upon a man on account of the colour of his hair; or it may be the old pet form *Rodo* or *Hrodo* of the old names *Hrodbert*, *Hrodger*, *Hrodhari*, etc. (*hrôd* = 'fame'). *Bär* and *Wolf* may be quite recent names adopted by Jewish families (the Jews frequently took the names of animals or birds), or they may be abbreviated forms of old German names, as *Berwald*, *Berwin*, *Wolfgang*, *Wolfger*, *Wolfhard*. Names like *Dank*, *Eisen*, *Wald* are not likely to be from the modern substantives, but rather from the old German *Danko*, *Iso*, *Waldo*, pet forms for *Dankwart*, *Isanhard*, *Walther*, or other compound names.

The derivation of family names is, as we see, surrounded by considerable difficulties. Where the history of a family is not known, where we meet with the modern forms of a name only, without any documentary evidence of its previous forms, we must in many cases remain satisfied with conjecture, without any hope of a certain explanation.

II. Names of Places.

When we come to the consideration of the origin and explanation of names of places, there arises a difficulty which scarcely ever presents itself in the case of personal names: the names of places date in part from the period when Celts still lived upon German soil, and our knowledge of the old Celtic language is still extremely deficient. The Celtic is most strongly represented in the names of rivers and streams, as well as of inhabited places, less in the names of mountains and hills, and least in those of fields. The latter are for by far the most part a consequence of a more extended cultivation of forests and lands. Of certain Celtic origin are amongst others the names of the rivers *Donau*, *Rhein*, *Main*, *Isar*, and of the towns *Breisach* (older *Brisiacum*), *Mainz* (*Moguntiacum*—no connection, therefore, with the *Main*), *Solothurn* (*Solodurum*), *Worms* (*Borbetomagus*).

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On the other hand, the investigation of names of places has an advantage which is absent in that of personal names. The latter are in part—like the Old German compound names—given to children immediately after birth; they could not, therefore, for the most part denote qualities which were present, but only those which were hoped for. Even though the persons did possess the characteristics denoted by their names, yet we have as a rule no means of knowing it. Places, on the contrary, we have immediately before our eyes, and are able to see in most cases what were the characteristics which gave rise to their names.

The name of a place may have reference (*a*) to its situation, e.g. *Hochhausen*, *Hochheim*, *Berghausen*, *Bergheim*, *Thalhausen*, *Thalheim*, *Wertheim* = *das Heim auf dem Wert* (island), *Neckarhausen* (*Neckar*, name of a river), *Rheinheim*; (*b*) from certain characteristics, such as the plants or animals which are found there, e.g. *Aschbach* (ash-brook), *Birkenau* (birch-meadow), *Buchenbach* (beech-brook), *Haslau*, i.e. *Haselau* (hazel-meadow), *Ibenbach* (yew-brook, Nhg. *Eibe*), *Seligenstadt* (a popular corruption, from Ohg. *salaha*, E. *sallow*, a kind of willow, Nhg. *Salweide*), *Weidenau* (willow-meadow), *Auerbach* (capercailzie brook), *Bebra* (older *Biber-aha*, beaver water), *Habsburg*, i.e. *Habichtsburg* (hawks-burg), *Rossbach* (horse-brook), *Spessart* (older *Spehtshart*, woodpecker-wood, Nhg. *Specht*), *Ziegenhain* (goat-grove); (*c*) from the use to which it has been put by man, the works which are carried on there. Thus names formed with the word 'mill' are very numerous, e.g. *Mühlbach*, *Molenbeck*, *Mühlhausen*, *Mühlheim*, or, with an older word for 'mill,' *Kernbach*, *Kehrenbach*, *Kirnbach*, from Ohg. *quirn*, Ags. *cwyrn* = a *quern* or handmill. The numerous names ending in *-reut*, *-rode* indicate that formerly the forest-land had been cleared or *rooted* out at that place. Places at which assemblages of the people were held are indicated by names like *Detmold*, formerly *Thietmella* (from Ohg. *thiot*, 'people,' and *mahal*, 'speech').

The three classes of names mentioned are of nearly equal antiquity. The individual names themselves may have been formed at very different periods, but the principle of formation dates equally in all cases from the earliest times in which names were given. Names formed from those of the possessors or inhabitants of a place are considerably more recent; their rise shows how the connection between the owner and the soil

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became gradually more and more firm. In this class of names we meet again with all the old German personal names; comp. *Bamberg* (older *Babenberg*, hill of *Babo*, the abbreviated form of names beginning with *badu* = 'battle'), *Diedenhofen*, the farm of *Dioto* (see p. 146), *Hersfeld* = the field of *Hariulf* (= *Heerwolf*), *Rüdesheim* = the home of *Rudolf*, *Witgenstein* = the stone of *Witiko* (abbreviated form of *Witekind*, etc.) The possessor may be designated by his office or rank alone, comp. *Bischofsheim*, *Herzogenhorn*, *Kaiserwörth* (emperor's island), *Königstein*. In many cases a place is named, not after an individual possessor or inhabitant, but after a number; the name may be that of the tribe to which they belong, e.g. *Sachsenhausen*, *Grosssachsen*, and *Lützelsachsen* (on the Baden *Bergstrasse*), or it may be formed from that of the ancestor, as in the case of the greater part of the names ending in *-ingen* (*-ing*), *-ungen*; or, lastly, it may be formed from the trade or occupation. This, the most modern category, is met with especially in the names of streets.

Not often, indeed, do we obtain information from historical sources as to the exact persons after whom places are named. But also in the case of names taken from the position of a place, its use, the character of its soil, etc., it may happen that the distinguishing features which suggested the name no longer exist. They may have suffered a change: where there was once swampy ground, and where the names terminate in *-bruch*, *-moos*, *-ried*, we may now find dry land; or places situated in pine-forest country may have names derived from 'beech' or 'oak,' showing that the latter kinds of trees have yielded to the former. The contradiction thus arising between the name and the thing named may even find expression in language; occasionally the old name is transformed to suit the new circumstances, so that we find names like *Birkenäcker*, *Birkenfeld*, 'birch-field;' *Eichenäcker*, 'oak-field;' *Eschfeld*, 'ash-field.'

In numerous cases the name did not proceed from the spot which now bears it. A name originally attached to a certain locality could easily extend to neighbouring places, whence we have the many names of villages whose names end in *-au*, *-bach*, *-feld*, *-wald*. But a name could be also transferred to far-distant regions, as when settlers bestowed the cherished name of their native place on a colony; thus *Frankfort-on-the-Oder* has very little connection with the race of the Franks.

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Lastly, we find names of places, as well as names of persons, in which there is hardly any connection between the name and the thing, and where imagination has been allowed to run free, so that quite abstract words appear as names of places; in many of such cases the inscription or motto of a single house was the model followed. Names ending in *-lust* and *-ruhe* are numerous; and one may even meet with names of places as *Aergerniss*, *Eintracht* (comp. *Concord*), *Gelegenheit*, *Missgunst*, *Unverzug*.

By far the greatest part of local names are compound words, like the old German personal names. At the same time simple words are not uncommon, and it is just among the oldest names of places that they are most strongly represented. Many names, like the pet forms of personal names, give us the impression of being simple names, whilst in reality they have sprung from compound names. As the son of Dietrich could be shortly called *Dietrichs*, so also *Dietrichs* could signify the 'field or the house of *Dietrich*;' the second part of the compound was not expressed, because it could easily be supplied by the mind.

Another kind of ellipsis may be mentioned. Names of places appear to us as being in the nominative case; but only a small number of them were so originally, the remainder answered to the question 'where?' and stood in the dative case, with a preposition, generally the preposition *zu*. The preposition has survived in a few isolated cases, e.g. *Andermatt* = *an der Matt*, *Zermatt* = *zu der Matt*, 'by the meadow' (for other examples see p. 147). In the majority of cases the preposition has disappeared; but often enough the form of the name itself betrays its dative origin. Thus the names ending in *-felden*, *-hausen*, *-hofen*, *-ingen*, *-lon* (Ohg. *lôhun*, dat. plur. of *lôh*, 'grove'), *-stetten*, *-walden* are dative plural forms; the same case exists in a number of names of countries, as *Baiern*, *Franken*, *Hessen*, *Sachsen*, *Schwaben*, which are nothing else than the plurals of the names of peoples, originally *ze den Baiern*, *ze den Franken*, etc. Often the second part of the compound has now a nominative form, but the first part contains the dative of an adjective, e.g. *Breitenfeld*, *Hohentwiel*, *Homburg* (= *Hohenburg*), *Stolzenfels*, *Weissenburg* or *Wittenberg* (Lg. *witt* = *weiss*).

Names of places, as well as personal names, are naturally subject to the ordinary phonetic laws. In them may be ob-

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served especially the weakening of full compound forms and the assimilation of consonants, two phenomena which we can much less frequently postulate in the ordinary material of language; add to this that in the ordinary compounds the different parts are very often preserved more intact through the influence of the independent simple words. The old name *Ruotboldisrode* has become weakened to *Ruperath*, *Markberteshusun* is now *Merkshausen*, and *Alahmuntinga* has changed to *Allmendingen*. The syllable *-ers* now standing at the end of the first member of many compound local names may represent a variety of second members of old names of persons. Compare *Herbersdorf* from *Heribrehtesdorf*, 'village of *Heribrecht* (*Herbert*),' *Elfershausen* from *Adalfrideshusum*, 'house of *Adelfried* (*Alfred*),' *Liggersdorf* from *Liutcartisdorf*, *Ollersbach* from *Adalgerisbach*, *Volkersdorf* from *Folchardesdorf*, *Einersheim* from *Einheresheim*, *Drommersheim* from *Truhtmaresheim*, *Ballersheim* from *Baldrodesheim*, *Oggersheim* from *Agridesheim*, *Frankershausen* from *Francwardeshusun*. The termination *-sen* of names of places is usually a weakened form of *-hûsen* (*-hausen*); but it may also be the remains of the ending *-es-heim*. The termination *-ikon*, so frequently found in Switzerland, especially near the lake of Zurich, is a weakened form of *-ic-hofen* from *-inc-hofen;* the first parts of the compound names therefore contain patronymic formations in *-ing*.

The simultaneous existence of older and younger forms of the same name may be observed to a greater extent among names of places than among names of persons. In an infinite number of cases the official name differs from that which lives in the mouth of the people. The authorities cling to the form of the name which is handed down in documents; at times, indeed, the official name is an artificial rendering into High German of the popular name, and a form is often produced which had no previous existence.

Dialectical differences in the vocabulary appear more distinctly in names of places than in names of persons; for the case of a local name not having been formed in the region in which it is found at present is much rarer than that of the bearers of a personal name having settled far from their original home.

Names terminating in *-steten*, *-weil*, or *-weiler* are characteristic of the Alemanic dialect; those ending in *-wang* of the

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Bavarian and Alemanic. The Alemanic forms in *-ingen* are divided from the Bavarian *-ing* by the river Lech. Names in *-lar* are Middle and Low German; those in *-scheid* are Middle Franconian; those in *-ungen* are Thuringian and Hessian. To Low German soil belong the terminations *-brink*, *-büttel*, *-fleth*, *-hude*, *-koog*, *-kuhl*. Close statistical researches into the geographical distribution of certain ways of forming local names may enable us to prove many old tribal connections. Thus the investigation of names of places enters into the service of history, just as in other respects language is an auxiliary of the historian.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES UPON GERMAN.

A NATION'S language reflects not only its intellectual development, but also a good part of its civilisation and history. Through its language we may especially trace how far it has come into contact with other nations, and the extent of their mutual influence upon each other. For there is probably no language which has not borrowed from other languages. And as it was granted to the German people less than to any other to develop freely according to its own proper nature, so the German language has had to suffer from its contact with the neighbouring languages in an especially high degree.

Contact between two languages may be of two kinds, immediate and literary. Immediate contact takes place when two tribes or nations have the same boundaries; or when part of a nation settles upon the territory of another nation, or when one nation makes occasional invasions upon foreign soil. The borrowing from the foreign language is in such cases imperfect and fragmentary, it takes place unconsciously or accidentally, or to satisfy a want; it is limited to single words, which in most cases express ideas till then strange to the language. The great majority of words thus borrowed are substantives, only a small part are verbs or adjectives; for a nation is more likely to meet with new objects or ideas in a foreign nation than with new qualities, new activities, or states.

The second kind of contact, literary contact, differs from the first kind in that it may extend not only to a contiguous people or peoples, but to an unlimited number of nations. Its influence is moreover much stronger. The adoption of the foreign tongue is conscious and intentional and much more complete; the elements borrowed from it are not limited to words which

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enrich the language, but include words which are dispensable or quite superfluous. Not only substantives, but verbs and adjectives are taken over, and even the means of forming new words (*e.g.* the verbal ending *-ieren* and the suffix *-lei* in *allerlei* are borrowed from French). A loan of a different nature takes place, when a native word changes its meaning under the influence of a foreign word, or when a language borrows a syntactical form from another.

These two different modes of borrowing from a foreign tongue are exercised by different classes of society, and at different periods of their intellectual development. The adoption of foreign words through personal intercourse belongs to the people; the second mode of borrowing is limited to the circle of the cultivated, and the words thus borrowed only permeate by degrees to the lower strata of society. The first kind is the earlier in time, the second can only take place in a higher state of civilisation.

The German language has borrowed foreign elements from the earliest period in which it comes under our notice. But the farther back we trace the language, the less surely can we declare a word to be a loan-word, especially owing to the difficulty of determining which of two languages was the lender and which the borrower.

The oldest loan-words in the German language are names of metals and cultivated plants. Now, in the case of words like *Silber*, Engl. *silver*, and *Hanf*, Engl. *hemp* (cf. Gk. κάνναβις, Lat. *cannabis*), we may assert with tolerable certainty that they did not belong to the original Teutonic stock of words, but we are hardly able even to conjecture from what nations they were borrowed. They were introduced into the language before the separation of the Teutonic tribes. The relations of the Teutons with the Finns and Celts began at a later period, but still in prehistoric times; that they came into contact with the former at that early period is proved by the not inconsiderable number of Teutonic words in the Finnish languages. Some of these words, as they appear in Finnish, can only be derived from hypothetical forms of the German originals, earlier than the forms which have been transmitted to us. Traces of Finnish influence upon the Teutonic tongue are scanty and uncertain.

The relations between the Teutons and the Celts were closer

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and more enduring; it was Celtic soil upon which the southern and western Teutonic tribes settled. The old Celtic background appears especially through names of rivers, mountains, and places—as, *Rhein*, *Main*, and *Donau* (Danube), *Melibocus* and *Vogesen* (Vosges), *Mainz* (Mayence) and *Worms*. The word *reich*, on the face of it a genuine Teutonic word, offers a remarkable proof of Celtic influence; the word meant at first not 'rich' but 'mighty,' a trace of which meaning still remains in the substantive *Reich*, 'realm, empire.' *Reich* is related to Lat. *rex*, but for phonetic reasons can only have penetrated into Teutonic from the Celtic (cf. Celtic names like *Dumnorix*, *Vercingetorix*); hence the idea suggests itself that the Teutons were not quite free from Celtic influence in matters relating to the State. Of probable Celtic origin are also the words *Düne*, E. *down*; *Falke*, E. *falcon*; *Habicht*, E. *hawk*; *Pferch*, 'a pen or fold,' cf. *park*.

Latin influence likewise commences in prehistoric times; its beginnings may be traced to about the beginning of our era, its end has not yet come. Latin influence has not been equally great at all times, nor can one in every case determine whether a word has come directly from the Latin or indirectly through Romance sources. The earliest loan-words from Latin are of a purely popular nature; they are partly the result of an old intercourse between Italy and Germany, and in part were introduced by Roman colonies in the south and west of German territory. Through the medium of the Romans the Teutons became acquainted with a number of animals, plants, etc., *e.g.* the elephant, *Elefant*, Ohg. *helfant*, Gk. ἐλέφας—ἐλέφαντος; the fabulous dragon, *Drachen*, L. *draco*; and the peacock, *Pfau*, L. *pavo*; the pear, *Birne*, L. *pirum*; the fig, *Feige*, L. *ficus*; the cherry, *Kirsche*, L. *cerasum*; the cabbage, *Kohl*, Engl. *cauli*-flower, L. *caulis*; the pumpkin, *Kürbis*, L. *cucurbita*, Engl. *cucumber*; the lily, *Lilie*, L. *lilia*; the almond, *Mandel*, Mlat. *amandola*, It. *mandola*; the mulberry, *Maulbeere*, L. *morus*; pepper, *Pfeffer*, L. *piper*; the radish, *Rettich*, L. *radix*; and the rose, *Rose*, L. *rosa*. The words *Pflanze*, E. *plant*, L. *planta*, and *Frucht*, E. *fruit*, L. *fructus*, are themselves of Latin origin.

The more advanced civilisation of the Romans influenced especially three arts. Firstly and more especially architecture, in the vocabulary of which there are many loan-words, e.g. *Kalk*, 'chalk,' L. *calx*; *Pflaster*, 'pavement,' Gk.-L. ἔμπλαστρον; *Strasse*,

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'street,' L. (*via*) *strata*; *Platz*, 'square,' L. *platea*, E. *place*; *Mauer*, 'wall,' L. *murus*; *Pfosten*, 'door-post,' L. *postis*; *Pforte*, 'gate,' L. *porta*; *Kerker*, 'dungeon,' L. *carcer*; *Keller*, 'cellar,' Mlat. *cellarium*, from L. *cella*; *Thurm*, 'tower,' L. *turris*; *Pfalz*, 'palatinate,' L. *palatium*, E. *palace*; *Ziegel*, L. *tegula*, E. *tile*; *Schindel*, 'shingle,' L. *scindula*; *Tünche*, 'white-wash,' L. *tunica*, and the verb *tünchen*, 'to white-wash.' Secondly, the cultivation of the vine and horticulture, cf. the words *Wein*, L. *vinum*; *Winzer*, 'vine-dresser,' perhaps L. *vinitor*; *Most*, 'must,' L. *mustum*; *Kelter*, 'wine-press,' L. *calcatorium*, and *keltern*, L. *calcitrare*, 'tread with the feet;' *pfropfen*, 'graft,' L. *propagare*; *impfen*, 'graft,' L. *putare*, 'cut,' *amputare*; *pelzen*, 'graft,' L. *pellis*. Thirdly, the art of cooking and preparing food, cf. the words *kochen*, 'cook,' L. *coquere*; *Speise*, 'food,' Ital. Mlat. *spesa* for *spensa*, 'expense,' L. *expensa*; *Butter*, L. *butyrum* (the primitive German words were *Schmer* or *Anke*); *Essig*, 'vinegar,' L. *acetum*; *Käse*, 'cheese,' L. *caseus*; *Oel*, 'oil,' L. *oleum*; *Semmel*, 'roll,' L. *simila*, 'wheat-flour;' *Senf*, 'mustard,' Gk.-Lat. σίναπι; *Weiher*, 'fish-pond,' L. *vivarium*. Many names of instruments, utensils, etc., come from Latin, e.g. *Anker*, 'anchor,' L. *ancora*; *Kette*, 'chain,' L. *catena*; *Becher*, 'cup,' Mlat. *bicarium*, from L. *bacar* or Gk. βῖκος, cf. Ital. *bicchiere*, E. *beaker*; *Kopf*, in Ohg. = 'cup,' L. *cuppa*; *Schüssel*, 'dish,' L. *scutella*; *Kiste*, 'chest,' L. *cista*; *Sack*, 'sack,' L. *saccus*; *Tisch*, 'table,' L. *discus* (the original German word was *biut*, from *bieten*, hence 'that upon which anything was offered'). The number of names of articles of dress and adornment from Latin is strikingly small; such are *Krone*, 'crown,' L. *corona*; *Purpur*, 'purple,' L. *purpur*; *Spiegel*, 'mirror,' L. *speculum*. Of words relating to political life we find only *Kaiser*, 'emperor,' L. *Caesar*. Of military terms the number is naturally small, since the Germans had no need to borrow them; almost the only words borrowed from Latin are *Kampf*, 'battle,' L. *campus*, and *Pfeil*, 'arrow,' L. *pilum*. On the other hand, the Germans borrowed a number of words appertaining to the arts of peace, of commerce, etc., e.g. *Markt*, 'market,' L. *mercatus*; *Münze*, 'coin, *mint*,' L. *moneta*; *Meile*, 'mile,' L. *milia* (*passuum*); *Pfund*, 'pound,' L. *pondus*; *Zins*, 'tribute, interest,' L. *census*; *Zoll*, 'toll,' L. *telonium*. A few words probably found their way into German through the export trade in geese and feathers to Rome, men-

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tioned by Pliny, e.g. *Flaum*, 'down,' L. *pluma* (the Old German word is *Daune*); *Kissen*, 'cushion,' Mlat. *cussînus*, from L. *culcita*, 'mattress;' *Pfühl*, 'pillow,' L. *pulvinus*, As. *pylwe; mausern*, 'moult, change plumage,' L. *mutare*, Fr. *muer*. The art of writing was advanced through contact with the Romans; the word *schreiben* itself is from the Lat. *scribere* (the primitive Teutonic word would be *wrîtan*, 'scratch,' E. *write*); so also *Brief*, 'letter,' L. *breve*, 'short writing, document,' cf. E. *brief; Siegel*, 'seal,' L. *sigillum*. Words relating to the sciences are naturally few, the Teutons being too little advanced in civilisation to receive many sciences; a few words, such as *Arzt*, 'physician,' Gk.-L. ἀρχίατρος; *Büchse*, 'box,' Gk. πυξίς; *Pflaster*, 'plaster,' Gk.-L. ἔμπλαστρον, testify to the superior knowledge of medicine among the Greeks and Romans.

Christianity exercised a mightier influence upon the intellectual life of the Teutons than Roman civilisation. The new faith was introduced to the Germans from three different directions: the eastern tribes were converted by the Greek Church, whilst Irish and Roman apostles first preached the Gospel to the western races and in the interior of Germany. The Irish missionaries seem to have brought no new words into the language; the Church of Byzantium came into contact principally with the Goths, who became extinct at an early period. But it seems to have communicated to the other Teutonic nations a very important word, *Kirche*, 'church,' Gk. κυριακόν, '(house) of the Lord.' The words *Pfaffe*, 'priest,' Gk. παπᾶς; *Pfingsten*, 'Whitsuntide,' Gk. πεντηκοστή; *Teufel*, Gk. διάβολος, may likewise have been introduced through the Goths, but *Papst*, 'pope,' Gk. πάππας, came into the language later, in the time of the Ottones, who had frequent relations with Byzantium. All words of later Greek origin came over not through immediate personal contact, but by literary contact.

The influence of the Roman Church was naturally much stronger; the words introduced by it bring us to historical times, that is, to the Old High German period. Most of the names of ecclesiastical buildings, furniture, vessels, etc., are of Latin origin, e.g. *Klause*, 'cell,' Mlat. *clausa; Kloster*, 'monastery,' Mlat. *claustrum*, cf. E. *cloister; Münster*, 'cathedral,' L. *monasterium*, cf. E. *minster; Schule*, 'school,' L. *schola; Altar*, 'altar,' L. *altare; Kanzel*, 'pulpit,' L. *cancellus*, 'grate' or 'rails,'

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cf. E. *chancel; Kreuz*, 'cross,' L. *crux; Oblate*, 'wafer,' L. *oblata*, from *offerre*, 'that which is offered;' *Orgel*, 'organ,' L. *organum*, Gk. ὄργανον; also names of ecclesiastical offices and functions, e.g. *Abt*, 'abbot,' Mlat. *abbas, abbatem; Küster*, 'clerk, sexton,' Mlat. *custorem*, L. *custos; Messner*, 'sacristan,' Mlat. *mansionarius* from L. *mansio; Mönch*, 'monk,' L. *monachus*, Gk. μοναχός; *Nonne*, 'nun,' Lat. *nonna; Priester*, 'priest,' L. *presbyter*, Gk. πρεσβύτερος, cf. O.E. *Prester John; Probst*, 'provost,' L. *propositus; Sigrist*, 'sacristan,' L. *sacrista;* of ecclesiastical rites and institutions, e.g. *Feier*, 'feast, festival,' Mlat. *feria*, L. *feriae; Mette*, 'matins,' Mlat. *mattina*, for L. *matutina* (*hora*); *Vesper*, 'vespers,' L. *vespera; Messe*, 'mass,' from L. *missa* (*est concio*), the words with which the priest dismissed the catechumens before the celebration; *Segen*, 'blessing,' L. *signum*, 'sign,' *i.e.* of the cross; *Almosen*, 'alms,' Gk.-Lat. ἐλεημοσύνη; *Spende*, 'charity, alms,' from *spenden*, Mlat. *spendere*, L. *expendere*, cf. *Speise; opfern*, 'offer, sacrifice,' L. *offerre; predigen*, 'preach,' L. *praedicare;* and of other ideas of the Christian religion, e.g. *Engel*, 'angel,' L. *angelus*, Gk. ἄγγελος; *Marter, Pein, Plage*, all three meaning 'torment, torture,' L. *martyrium*, Gk. μαρτύριον, L. *poena*, 'penalty,' and *plaga*, 'blow,' Gk. πληγή; *verdammen*, 'damn,' L. *damnare.* In the case of words like Ohg. *bimunigôn*, 'admonish,' L. *monere*, and *tilôn*, 'destroy,' L. *delere*, it is difficult to determine whether they were introduced by Christianity or at an earlier period; they are noteworthy as expressing ideas not peculiar to the Romans.

Besides these words of popular origin introduced during the Ohg. period a number of expressions of a more learned and technical character found their way into the literature, especially into translations from Latin. These are of a minor interest.

In the Middle High German period we meet with new elements. The Crusades carry the Germans into the great stream of European life. They enter into closer contact with their southern neighbours; the superior culture, the brilliancy and refinement of French life, dazzle the German mind. The educated part of the nation turn their attention to French language and French literature; German lyrical poetry receives a fresh impulse from French models, and the Court epics are more or less freely-translated versions of the works of French masters. Men like Gotfrid von Strassburg, the author of

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Tristan, go to the extent of bodily introducing French verses into their poetry. The consequence was that towards the end of the twelfth century the German language was inundated by a flood of French words; the language of the tournament and the chase, of gaming and dancing, of music and poetry, borrows its terms from the neighbouring nation, and the introduction of a number of objects of luxury necessarily brings with it their foreign names, together with many phrases of etiquette and politeness. Many of these only enjoyed a short life; they perished with the decay of chivalry. Others have remained to this day, such as *Abenteuer*, Fr. *aventure; Banner*, 'banner,' Fr. *bannière; blond*, 'fair,' Fr. *blond; fehlen*, 'fail,' Fr. *faillir; Fei*, 'fairy,' Ofr. *feie*, Fr. *fée*, cf. E. *fay; fein*, 'fine,' Fr. *fin; Komtur*, 'commander,' Fr. *commandeur; Manier*, 'manner,' Fr. *manière; Palast*, Mhg. *palas*, Fr. *palais*, 'palace;' *Plan*, 'plain,' Fr. *plan; Preis*, 'price, prize,' Fr. *prix; turnieren*, 'take part in a tournament,' Fr. *tourner*.

Some indication of the depth of French influence upon German at that time is offered by the fact that the Germans have adopted from the French language several means of forming new words; thus the Mhg. words *jegerie, rouberie, vischerie* = *Jägerei, Räuberei, Fischerei*, were formed by means of the termination *-ie* from German words, after the model of French loan-words like *partie, vilanie*, etc.; verbs in *-ieren*, as *halbieren, marschieren, stolzieren*, were formed after the model of French verbs ending in *-ier*, modern French *-er;* and the ending *-lei* in *mancherlei, vielerlei* is the French word *loi*, Ofr. *lei*, which meant among other things 'manner.'

Latin influence continues side by side with French influence during the Middle High German epoch, but it is not so strong as the latter. As we approach the period of the Renaissance and the days of Humanism, Latin again comes to the foreground. In the second half of the fifteenth century begins a great activity in the translation of Latin authors; in the sixteenth century the educated classes speak and write the language of Rome, and the native tongue is despised (the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire spoke German only to his horse).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Latin is again superseded by French as the language of Court and fashion, not a little owing to the fault of the Humanists, who had accus-

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tomed the Germans to hold their own language in contempt. The abundance of French words which now again flood the German language is swelled by loans from Italian, though in a far smaller degree; the Italian loan-words comprise chiefly musical terms and commercial expressions.

In the nineteenth century there is a considerable influx of words from English, principally expressions drawn from the sphere of political and social life, more especially sporting terms. The eastern neighbours of the Germans, the Slavs, contributed a small share of words, such as *Dolch*, 'dagger,' Boh.-Pol. *tulich; Dolmetsch*, 'interpreter,' Russ. *tolmatsch; Droschke*, 'cab,' Russ. *droschki; Grenze*, 'boundary,' Pol. *granica; Hallunke*, 'scoundrel,' Boh. *holomek; Knute*, 'knout,' Russ. *knut; Kutsche*, 'coach,' Hung. *kotsi; Peitsche*, 'whip,' Boh. *bič; Petschaft*, 'seal,' Boh. *pečet; pomadig*, 'comfortable, slow,' Pol. *pomalu; Schöps*, 'ram,' Czech *skopec; Stieglitz*, 'goldfinch,' Czech *stehlec; Zobel*, 'sable,' Russ. *sobol*. The Low German (*Platt-deutsch*) expression *Schurrmurr* comes from Slavonic, though it was originally a Persian word. We find many a word of Slavonic origin besides these in Low and Middle German dialects, *e.g.* the North Thuringian word *dowre*, from a Slavonic word meaning 'good.' The loan-words from the other neighbouring nations, the Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, are quite inconsiderable.

All the loan-words which we have noticed till now have come from nations lying outside the boundaries of the country, but belonging to the same group of languages as the German; another set of words has been introduced from another family of languages, the Semitic, but by a race which lives scattered throughout the German people, namely, the Jews. The number of Hebrew words which have entered the literary language is not considerable; such are *Gauner*, 'swindler;' *Jubeljahr*, 'jubilee;' *Kümmelblättchen*, 'the three-card trick,' from *gimel*, the Hebrew sign for *g* and 3, and *Blättchen*, 'a little card;' *Schacher*, 'usury;' *schächten*, 'kill, butcher;' but the different dialects show a large number of Hebrew words, e.g. *acheln*, 'eat;' *beduch*, 'downcast;' *ganfen*, 'steal;' *Kanuf*, a term of abuse; *kapores*, 'broken;' *koscher*, 'clean, pure;' *Makkes*, 'blows;' *mauscheln*, 'chaffer;' *meschugge*, 'demented;' *Moos*, 'money;' *pleite*, 'bankrupt;' *Rebbich, Schmu*, 'profit;' *schmusen*, 'fawn, flatter;' *Schofel*, 'trash;' *Zores*, 'dispute.'

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The languages which have been mentioned contributed loan-words immediately to the German language; but a number of words have entered the language at secondhand. Thus a considerable number of Arabic words came through the medium of the Romance languages, as *Alchymie*, 'alchemy;' *Almanach*, *Algebra*, *Alkohol*, *Admiral*, *Divan*, 'divan;' *Douane*, 'customs;' *Havarie*, 'average;' *kalfatern*, 'to calk,' etc., and many names of new plants and new materials have been imported from every possible language. Many Greek words have come through Latin, and some Romance words through English. A curious fact is that words have been borrowed from Romance languages which the latter had originally taken from Teutonic, and not infrequently the original word and the same in its foreign garb exist side by side, e.g. *Balkon*, 'balcony,' from the Fr. *balcon*, which comes from Ohg. *balko*, 'beam,' Ger. *Balken; Fauteuil*, 'arm-chair,' a French word from Ohg. *faldestuol*, orig. 'a folding stool' or 'chair,' Ger. *Feldstuhl*, a popular corruption of *Faltstuhl; Gage* (Fr.), 'wages, salary,' and *Wette*, 'wager;' *Garde* (Fr.), 'guards,' and *Warte*, 'watch-tower;' *Liste* (Fr.), 'list,' and *Leiste*, 'strip, border;' *Rang* (Fr.), 'rank, row,' and *Ring*, 'ring;' *Biwak*, 'bivouac,' is from Ohg. *biwaht*, 'by-watch;' *equipieren*, *Equipage* are connected with *Schiff; garnieren* with *warnen*, 'warn,' orig. = 'prepare, equip;' *Loge*, 'box in a theatre,' with *Laube*, 'arbour.'

Foreign influence becomes less evident when not words themselves are taken over, but the manner of putting words together to form new ones. German words have at various times been formed in imitation of foreign words, partly in order to make the words intelligible, and partly, in more recent times, from a conscious endeavour to stem the tide of foreign expressions. In some cases a word is literally translated, in others its spirit is reproduced. Thus, in Ohg. times was formed a word *gomaheit* (*gomo*, 'man'), to reproduce the idea *humanitas;* Ohg. *armherzi*, after the model of L. *misericors*, Nhg. *barmherzig; missa*, 'mass,' was rendered by Ohg. *santa*, 'that which is sent;' *propheta* by Ohg. *forasago*, 'the foreteller;' *apostolus* by Ohg. *zwelfboto*, 'one of the twelve messengers;' *bibliotheca*, 'library,' by Ohg. *buohfaz*, 'book receptacle.' Ohg. *jungiro*, Nhg. *Jünger*, 'disciple, younger,' is probably only a free rendering of *discipulus*. In Ohg. works of translation the words '*wahrlich*,' '*gewiss*' are used

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to render the Latin particles *autem*, *ergo*, *igitur*, *itaque*, *profecto*, *vero*, but they never became popular. The German Mystics created the words *ûzfluz*, *gegenwurf* or *widerwurf*, *understôz* to render the words *emanatio*, *objectum*, and *subjectum*, and in recent times appeared *Pflegling* instead of *Alumnus*, *Volksherrschaft*, *Freistaat*, in place of *Demokratie*, *Republik*, *Drahtbericht*, *Zerrbild* for *Telegramm*, *Karrikatur*, and *erkenntlich*, *Zwischenfall* for Fr. *reconnaissant*, *incident*.

Many words were not indeed created under foreign influence, but adopted new meanings; in some cases the original meaning was lost. *Der Heide*, 'heathen,' from *die Heide*, 'heath,' meant originally 'he who lived in the country,' and took its new meaning in imitation of L. *paganus*, from *pagus*, 'village;' *taufen*, 'baptise,' probably meant at first only to 'dip.' In the sixteenth century *bürgerlich* adopted the meaning of 'polite' under the influence of L. *civiliter* or Fr. *civilement*; *zerstreut* took its present meaning of 'absent-minded, distracted' in imitation of Fr. *distrait*, in Lessing's time; *einem den Hof machen* is a literal translation of Fr. *faire la cour à quelqu'un*; and *antworten*, used in the sense of 'answer to, correspond with,' shows the influence of L. *respondere*.

German Syntax was influenced especially by Latin, in a smaller degree by French. Of Latin constructions the so-called Accusative with the Infinitive enjoyed most favour; it was occasionally used by Ohg. translators, hardly at all in the Mhg. period, but very frequently from the second half of the fifteenth century, and was by no means confined to works of translation. In *Theuerdank*, an epic poem of the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find '*nym* (*nimm*) *zu dir den Gesellen dein*, *den du weist verschwiegen zu sein*,' = 'whom you know to be discreet,' or '*Der Held antwortt: ich red on spot* (*ohne Spott*), *mich gewesen sein in grosser Not*.' This construction continues in use till the eighteenth century, and we find it occasionally in Lessing, e.g. '*die Theaterstücke die er so vollkommen nach dem Geschmacke seines Parterres zu sein urtheilte*,' = 'which he judged to be, etc.' In the language of to-day this construction is no longer permitted; *ich sehe ihn kommen* is a genuine old German construction. But in the frequently-used constructions like *dein Bruder von dem ich urtheile, dass er reich ist*, = 'whom I judge to be rich,' for *den ich für reich halte*, we

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may see an endeavour to render the Latin Accusative with the Infinitive.

The Latin so-called Ablative Absolute is a very convenient construction. The Teutonic language originally possessed something similar to it, but lost it at a very early period. Throughout the different periods of High German we observe attempts to reproduce it; the Old High German translators frequently made use of it. In Modern German French influence was added to Latin, and the strange construction was imitated in two ways; firstly by a kind of Accusative Absolute, e.g. '*dieses Geschäft berichtigt, eilen alle Statthalter nach ihren Provinzen,*' Schiller; '*das geschehen, hänge die Entscheidung von dem Könige ab,*' Dahlmann; secondly, by means of the preposition *nach* and the dative, usually an ill-sounding construction, e.g. '*nach aufgehobenem Kloster,*' Goethe; '*nach genommenem Abschiede von seinem Freunde,*' Schiller; '*nach dem abgeschüttelten Joch der Römer,*' J. Grimm.

On the whole, the influence of Latin syntax upon German has not been for good; to it must be traced the great predilection which the modern German shows for the insertion of sentences one within another, and for intricacies of style. Many other peculiarities of Latin construction have been imitated at various periods, but without taking root; at no time perhaps was this more the case than in the last century, at the time when works of science and learning were beginning to be written in German.

French influence upon the syntax has been less strong than Latin, by reason of the greater similarity of character which German and French have to one another than either of them has to Latin, in consequence of which French had less to offer which might be of profit. An imitation of French construction is seen in a sentence like *von hier aus ist es, dass man den weitesten Blick über Paris hat*, where a part of the sentence is brought into prominence by changing the order and adding *es ist* (*c'est d'ici*, etc.) It is doubtful whether the expression *sein von*, in attributing a quality, as *Friedrich V. war von einem freien und aufgeweckten Geiste, vieler Herzensgüte, einer königlichen Freigebigkeit*, is due to French or to Latin influence. French expressions are frequently imitated in newspaper German, though few of them are adopted by the people, e.g. *Gefahr laufen* (*courir*

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risque), *von langer Hand* (*de longue main*). In South-west Germany the phrase *es macht schön Wetter* (*il fait beau temps*) is not uncommon.

Among the Germans of Austria expressions are not infrequently heard which betray the proximity of the Slavonic language.

Pronunciation and Accentuation of Loan-words.

Words of foreign origin may be treated in German in two ways: either they are made to adapt themselves to the German manner of pronunciation and accentuation, and become thoroughly naturalised, or they are preserved as far as possible in their original foreign shapes. Frequently one and the same word is treated now in one way now in the other.

The first mode of treatment was on the whole the earlier in point of time, whilst in later times the tendency was to pay more consideration to the foreign language. Thus the words adopted during the Old High German period took the form of native words; these foreigners are hardly to be recognised as such, and their removal would be neither needful nor possible. Of the words introduced in the Middle High German period very few have become naturalised; the majority of them still retain their original shape almost unchanged. The reason of this difference is not indeed that the language is less capable of making foreign words its own, but is explained by the difference mentioned above, between popular loan-words and words of learned or literary origin. A word which the man of education borrows from a foreign language in these days strikes him over and over again as a foreign word, and is repeatedly restored to its original shape if it begins to deviate from it. But if the word penetrates to the people then it will become naturalised as easily as it did fifteen hundred years ago.

The greatest contrast between German words and great numbers of words borrowed from Greek, Latin, and French lies in the accentuation. The Teutonic languages as a rule accent the first syllable, Greek and Latin accent now one now the other syllable, in French the accent is on the last syllable. In the Old High German time the native accentuation was transferred to loan-words; in this way alone could, *e.g.*, the Latin words *monastérium*, *moněta*, *palátium* result in the forms *Mün-*

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ster, *Münze*, *Pfalz*. In the Middle High German time we find both German and foreign accentuation side by side; Fr. *la bannière* appeared both as *bánier* and as *baníer*, whence came the double forms Nhg. *Banner* and *Panier*. In modern times the foreign accent is retained as a rule; some words have even a shifting accent, e.g. *Professor—Professóren*, *Átlas—Atlánten*. It must not, however, be forgotten, in considering individual words, that words are not always borrowed immediately from the languages to which they originally belonged; thus the Germans accent the names *Menelaus*, *Themistokles*, *Oedipus* in the Latin manner, and not according to the Greek, *Menélaus*, *Themistoklés*, *Oedípus*. In words like *Katholik*, *Musík*, *Protestánt*, the French model has been followed; but words are not of infrequent occurrence which are accented sometimes as in Latin, sometimes as in French, e.g. *Phänómen—Phänomén*, *Arithmétik—Arithmetík*, *Metaphýsik—Metaphysík*. Again, the words *Antipathíe*, *Politík*, *Mathematík*, are accented on the last syllable, but their derivatives, *antipáthisch*, *polítisch*, *mathemátisch*, on the penultimate. When there are double forms like *Státue* and *Statúe*, *Phýsik* and *Physík* side by side, it is doubtful whether the accentuation of the first syllable is of Latin origin, or whether the German manner has prevailed, for the latter case still frequently occurs in the present day, as in *Lieutenant*, *Kárneval*, *O'cean*, *Schárlatan*. Some words have an uncertain accent, as *A'djektiv* or *Adjektív*, *I'nfinitiv* or *Infinitív*, *Kávallerie* or *Kavallerie*; sometimes we hear *Búreau*, *Díner*, *Soúper*, sometimes *Büreaú*, *Dinér*, *Soupér*. The North German has a preference for accenting the last syllable, the South German for accenting the root-syllable; the Swiss even go so far as to accent *Coúsine*, *Hótel*, *Párterre*, on the first syllable. This difference of treatment of foreign words by North and South Germans is explained by the fact that the former attach more importance to correct pronunciation than the latter, and so take more pains to retain the foreign accent; according to their own ideas of correctness, of course, for as a matter of fact neither the North German's strong accentuation of the final syllable, nor the more careless pronunciation of the Southerner, can do justice to the true French accent.

Similar difficulties present themselves in the reproduction of individual sounds. In general the German reproduces a foreign word with the sounds as they affect his ear; sometimes,

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though less frequently, so as to give the individual letters their sound as in German, e.g. *Lieutenant* (pr. *Loitenant*), and *Toast*, in which *o* and *a* are very frequently pronounced separately. But it often happens that the German has no sound corresponding to a foreign sound, so that a word can only be copied with difficulty or not at all. In such cases the word is pronounced with the sound which most nearly resembles the sound in question; in loan-words adopted by the people such is invariably the case, but the educated usually strive with persevering minuteness to master the strange sound. The Ohg. *w* had a sound which differed considerably both from that of Modern German and from that of Latin *v*; so the Latin *v* was frequently rendered by the sound of *f*, e.g. *Veilchen*, a diminutive of *Veil*, L. *viola*; *Vesper*, L. *vespera*; *Vogt*, L. *vocatus*; *Käfig*, L. *cavea*. Again, at one period of Old High German the language possessed no sound corresponding to the Latin long *ê*, and this sound is rendered in loan-words as long *î*, e.g. L. *feria* is in Ohg. *vîra*, Nhg. *Feier*; L. *creta*, is Ohg. *crîda*, Nhg. *Kreide*. The same thing occurs to this day; thus the French mute *e* is rendered by the German *e*, which differs somewhat from the former, as in *Gruppe*, Fr. *groupe*, *Rhone*, *Bagage*, *Gage*, etc.; the French nasal sound is frequently rendered by *n*, *ng*, or *m*, as in *Mansarde*, *Rang*, *Tambur*, Fr. *tambour*; the French liquid sounds (*n-mouillé* and *l-mouillé*) present special difficulties; to *gn* is usually given the sound of *ny*, as in *Champagne*, *Champagner*, and *l-mouillé* appears sometimes as pure *l*, as in the South German pronunciation of *bouteille*, *fauteuil* (*Budel*, *Fotöhl*), sometimes as *lch*, as in the mouth of the North German (*Butelch*, *Fotölch*), or again as *il*; thus *Detail*, *Email* would rhyme in South German pronunciation with *Heil*, *Teil*.

In spite of differences of this kind, one is in the majority of cases enabled to know what was the sound of the foreign language to which a certain sound corresponds, and what stage of development a foreign word had reached at the time of its being borrowed; and thus the comparison of sounds offers a means of determining the period in which a word was borrowed. Latin *c* before *e* or *i* was till about the seventh century of our era pronounced like *k*, afterwards like German *z*; from this we may conclude that words like *Keller*, L. *cellarium*; *Kerbel*, 'chervil,' L. *caerefolium*; *Kirsche*, L. *cerasus*; *Kiste*, L. *cista*, were

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borrowed at an earlier period than, e.g., *Kreuz*, L. *crucem*, and *Zins*, L. *census*. Again, words like *Panier*, Fr. *bannière*; *Rappier*, Fr. *rapière*, must have been borrowed at an earlier period than *Bariere*, *Lisiere*, Fr. *barrière*, *lisière*, for the former correspond to an earlier French pronunciation with the accent on the *i*, *-iere*.

Not infrequently from the inflexion which a foreign word took in German we may form conclusions as to its mode of inflexion in the original language. Loan-words in general joined the class of words whose final and inflexional syllables mostly resembled their own, and at the same time took the same gender. Thus Latin words in *-arium* joined the class of Ohg. masculine nouns ending in *-ari*, and themselves became masculine, *e.g.* Ohg. *kellari*, Nhg. *Keller*, masc., from L. *cellarium*, neut., and Ohg. *wîari*, Nhg. *Weiher*, masc., from L. *vivarium*, neut., joined the class of words like Ohg. *lêrari*, Nhg. *Lehrer*; Ohg. *scrîbari*, Nhg. *Schreiber*. Fr. *le groupe*, *le rôle*, etc., and all the substantives with the masculine ending *-age* became feminine in German, *die Gruppe*, *die Rolle*, *die Etage*, *die Equipage*, etc., after the model of *die Bitte*, *die Gabe*, etc. Attempts have been made, though unreasonably, to restore words to their original gender, e.g. *der Rhone* is sometimes heard on the part of purists instead of *die Rhone*, Fr. *le Rhône*. The gender of loan-words was often determined by other circumstances than formal resemblance, namely, by the existence in German of words with the same or a like meaning. Thus *Kadaver*, from L. *cadaver*, neut., followed the gender of *der Leichnam*; *Mauer*, L. *murus*, masc., that of *die Wand*; *Nummer*, L. *numerus*, masc., that of *die Zahl*; *Libell*, L. *libella*, fem., that of *das Buch*; *Puder*, Fr. *la poudre*, that of *der Staub*; the Viennese say *die Tramway* on account of *die Pferdebahn*, the German word for the same thing. Not always, however, did any definite words or classes of words offer themselves as models; in such cases the gender is often wavering, and it is difficult to fix a rule. Thus the French nouns which are used with the article *le* are in German sometimes masculine, sometimes neuter. In Middle High German these words more frequently retained their original gender than in modern times; compare the older loan-words *der Harnisch*, Fr. *le harnais*; *der Palast*, Fr. *le palais*; *der Preis*, Fr. *le prix*, with the later ones, *das Bankett*, *das Bataillon*, *das Bouquett*,

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Dejeuner, *Diner*, *Filet*, *Fort*, *Gilet*, *Journal*, *Palais*, *Regiment*, etc., Fr. *le banquet*, *le bataillon*, *le bouquet*, etc.

A few loan-words are still used in two genders, e.g. *der Chor* and *das Chor*, *der Moment* and *das Moment*, *der Parfüm* and *das Parfüm*. Words ending in *-at* were until the most recent times all treated as neuter words, because a great number of them had that gender in Latin (*-atum*); but of late the purists have endeavoured to restore such words as *das Konsulat*, *das Patriarchat*, to their original masculine gender.

When foreign words have once become living German words they are subject to the same fate as native words; their sounds change like the latter, and by comparing these changes we obtain a new means of determining their chronology. Thus L. *pavo*, *planta*, *porta*, have become in German, *Pfau*, *Pflanze*, *Pforte*; the sound *p* changed under the influence of the second *Lautverschiebung* to *pf*; these words must consequently have been adopted before the operation of that law had ceased. On the other hand, *Pech*, L. *pix*, *picem*; *Pein*, L. *poena*; *Pilgrim*, L. *peregrinus*, in which the sound *p* remained, only entered the language after the second *Lautverschiebung* had run its course. And as in native words, so also in loan-words we may observe the tendency to make them more intelligible by bringing them into connection with better known words or sound-groups; this was done either by composition with native words, e.g. *Bibelbuch*, Gk. *βιβλίον*, 'book,' and *Buch*, 'book;' *Damhirsch*, L. *dama*, 'deer,' and *Hirsch*, 'hart;' *Grenzmark*, Pol. *granica*, and *Mark*, 'boundary;' *Maulesel*, L. *mulus*, 'mule,' and *Esel*, 'ass,' in which both parts of the compounds mean about the some thing; or by folk-etymological transformation, e.g. *Armbrust*, L. *arcubalista*; *Odermennig*, 'agrimony,' L. *agrimonia*; *Goldcreme*, E. *cold cream*, etc.

From the above it follows naturally that loan-words are liable to change their meanings as well as native words; thus *dichten* has a very different meaning from L. *dictare*, 'dictate;' *Pein*, 'torment,' from L. *poena*, 'penalty;' *Pfütze*, 'puddle, slough,' from L. *puteus*, 'well.'

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